

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Vol. 9. No. 12.—New Series.] DECEMBER 2, 1861.

{Price Fourpence Stamped
Threepence Unstamped

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Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—On Friday, the 1st ultimo, a meeting of the *Birmingham Ladies' Negroes' Friend Society* was held at Birmingham. A succinct report of the proceedings will be found in another column.

On Thursday evening, the 7th ultimo, a meeting of Africans, and of the friends of Africa, was held at No. 35 Bedford Square, the residence of Dr. Hodgkin, for the purpose of renewing the attempt made some two years ago, to constitute an Association for the development of the resources of Africa, through the agency of native Africans. The leading idea of the promoter of this scheme, is to encourage native Africans and descendants of African race, who visit this country, to meet periodically, and to consider how they may contribute to the welfare of their countrymen. Dr. Hodgkin, the originator of the movement, presided, and read many interesting statements bearing upon the several points which came under discussion, and finally a resolution was unanimously agreed to, setting forth the objects of the movement; soliciting the active co-operation of the *African-Aid Society*; appointing a Committee to communicate with that Society, upon the subject, and instructing the Chairman and the Secretary to the meeting, to prepare the draft of an Address to be laid before the Executive Committee of the said Society.

On Monday, the 18th ultimo, a deputation from the Committee of the *Aborigines' Protection Society*, consisting of Mr. Samuel

Gurney, M.P., Mr. Malcolm Lewin, Mr. R. N. Fowler, Mr. John Mayfield, Mr. G. L. Neighbour, Dr. Hodgkin, Mr. F. W. Cheson, and L. A. Chamerovzow, waited upon His Excellency, Governor Wodehouse, recently appointed to succeed Sir G. Grey at the Cape of Good Hope, and presented him an Address. Mr. Chamerovzow, on behalf of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, directed the Governor's attention to the existence of Slavery amongst the Boers of the Trans-Vaal Republic, and placed in the hands of the Governor a copy of the treaty between the late A. Pretorius and Majors Hogge and Owen, by which the Boers engaged not to allow Slavery to exist within their territory. Governor Wodehouse promised his attention to the subject.

On Thursday, the 21st ultimo, the *Nashville* steamer, bearing the flag of the Confederate States of America, came into Southampton, and landed the captain, officers, and crew of the American ship, *Harvey Birch*, which she had captured in latitude 49° 6' N., longitude 9° 52' W., and burnt to the water's edge. Captain Peagrim, of the *Nashville*, exhibited a copy of his commission as an officer of the Confederate States' Navy. The affair has created a great sensation.

AFRICA.—It is stated that the King of Dahomey intends to inaugurate the "yam season" by another human sacrifice.

The report is contradicted most positively of its having been the design of the King of Lagos to send Captain Bedingfeld and Mr. McCoskry into the interior, as prisoners, de-

taining the British merchants, and taking the lives of all European officers and residents, besides burning the factories.

The *West-African Herald*, published at Cape Coast Castle, advocates hostile measures against the King of Dahomey. A meeting of chiefs and people had been held in the great hall of the castle, convened by order of the Governor, for the purpose of calling upon the people to elect two persons to examine the poll-tax accounts from the commencement up to the present date. The chiefs and people, however, replied, that as the poll-tax money was all gone, there was no need of auditing the accounts. This tax is exceedingly unpopular, and has led to much ill-feeling on the part of the natives against the British Government.

MADAGASCAR—Latest news from Madagascar announce the death of the Queen, and the accession of her son, under the title of Radama II. This event is of considerable importance, as it promises to inaugurate quite a new era in the history of an island which has long been under a savage despotism, and of which the resources have, in consequence, remained undeveloped. The king has thrown open his ports to foreign commerce, and declared his intention of ruling without any foreign protectorate. He has also despatched to Europe an ambassador—a M. Lambert, a member of a mercantile firm of Mauritius, who is also his prime minister—for the purpose of obtaining the recognition of France and England. We may hope, too, that King Radama II. will stop the traffic in slaves which is known to be prosecuted from some parts of his dominions, especially from the East Coast.

UNITED STATES.—No decisive progress has been made by the belligerents since our last issue. The Confederate forces had retired from their positions in front of Washington, which were forthwith occupied by the Federal army. The former had entirely closed the Potomac below Washington, which is, therefore, now unapproachable upwards from the river. A detachment of the Federal forces, which had been sent across the Potomac at a place called Edwards' Ferry, were attacked by the Confederates, advantageously posted in a wood, and defeated with a loss officially stated at 680 killed, wounded, and missing. *Per contra*, the Federals had attacked the Confederate camp at Belmont, Missouri, and destroyed it. The loss on both sides was heavy. The Confederates had abandoned the position.

Cincinnati despatches state, that on the 8th ultimo General Nelson met the Confederates at Pikeville, Kentucky, whom he engaged during two days. 400 Confederates are stated to have been killed, and 1000 taken prisoners. The Federal loss is reported to be small.

On the 29th October an immense naval expedition sailed for a then unknown destination on the coast of the Atlantic Cotton States. It took out 30,000 men of both services. Immense quantities of ordnance, a large number of surf-boats, and house-frames ready to be put up, 1500 shovels, bricks in quantity, and supplies for the artillery and cavalry horses, went in the transports. The expedition is commanded by Captain Dupont, the flag-officer of the Naval Coast Division extending from Hatteras Inlet to the Keys in Florida. It consists of 27 men-of-war, with the *Wabash* (50 gun frigate) as the flag-ship. Of the remaining 26 vessels, 16 are gunboats, and the rest frigates or sloops of war, carrying from 16 to 50 guns. The entire armament of the fleet is about 400 guns. The transport fleet, which is to be convoyed by the naval branch of the expedition, consists of 24 ocean steamships of various tonnage, ranging from 3400 American measurement to 450 tons. There are also 7 steam-ferryboats, and 4 sailing vessels—the *Great Republic*, 3356 tons; the *Ocean Express*, 1697 tons; the *Golden Eagle*, 1128 tons; and the *Zenas Coffin*, 338 tons. All these transport vessels are armed, and carry, in addition to the troops, immense quantities of provisions, quartermasters' stores, picks, sandbags, horses, timber, and every other article likely to be required for a campaign. The troops composing the expedition are commanded by General Sherman, one of the most experienced officers in the army of the United States, and affiliated politically with the Republican party.

Much curiosity was manifested to learn the destination of this expedition. It turns out to have been directed to South Carolina, evidently with a view to a diversion. The fleet reached Port Royal on the 7th November; and, after a fight which lasted four hours, the Confederates abandoned the forts, and retreated precipitately. The Federals captured two forts, forty-three guns, military equipments, and valuable papers. On the 8th the Federals, numbering 15,000 men, landed and established themselves at Beaufort, South Carolina, which, with the neighbouring plantations, was totally destroyed by the enemy. Large numbers of negroes came into the Federal camp. Beaufort is to be held as the seat of future operations. Eight Federals and 100 Confederates are reported to have been killed during the bombardment. Four Federal vessels were lost or missing during a severe gale.

It is reported that a Federal collector will be immediately appointed at Beaufort, and that the place will at once be opened to commerce.

General Scott had retired from his post as Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Forces, and been succeeded by General M'Clellan,

who had at once assumed command. General Scott had left for Europe.

General Fremont had been superseded, and great dissatisfaction had resulted in the army of which he held the command.

The *St. Louis Republican* states that great excitement prevailed in the camp at Springfield, on account of the General's removal. Many of his officers declared that they would either resign or make him Dictator of the South-West, independent of the Federal Administration. The General expostulated with his troops, and urged them not to abandon their posts. He then issued a farewell address to the army, and prepared to set out for St. Louis.

General Hanks replaces him.

It is alleged that the army of the Confederates consists of 496,000 men, said to be distributed as follows: Department of the Potomac, 150,000; department of Chesapeake and rest of Virginia, 90,000; department of Kentucky and Tennessee, 117,000; department of Missouri, 60,000; on the line of the Mississippi, 39,000; at Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, and Galveston, 40,000. The amount of small arms has been ascertained to be 898,000, obtained thus: Sent to the South by Floyd while Secretary of War, 578,000; seized in Southern arsenals, 100,000; made in Southern arsenals, 20,000; shipped from Europe, 200,000.

The autumn elections in the North and West have resulted, almost without opposition, in sustaining the policy of the Federal Government.

In Kentucky, matters were taking a turn decidedly averse to the Union.

A meeting of New-York merchants was taking place for the purpose of drawing up a national Bankruptcy Bill for presentation to Congress.

Mr. Memminger, the Secretary of the Confederate Treasury, had issued a circular, dated Richmond, 17th of October, declining, in the name of the Cabinet, to grant any relief, either by the purchase of the cotton-crop or by an advance upon its hypothecated value. He declares that the South, being now engaged in a gigantic war, needs money, and not planters' notes or produce; and explains that what the Government requires is a loan from the planters, secured by Treasury notes, which now form the currency of the Confederate States. He advises the planters to apply to the banks for relief, and recommends them in future to cultivate grain and other products rather than cotton.

The *Louisville Journal* says that a slave belonging to Jeff. Offord, a Secessionist of Spencer County, made his escape, and delivered himself up at Camp Sherman. The officers of the camp handed him over to the Provost Marshal of Louisville, who, under instructions from Gen. Sherman, returned

him without reward to his owner. The same paper has a notice also of a fugitive slave belonging to a citizen of Louisville, that was arrested and promptly returned to his owner by the Federal authorities in Indiana.

It is stated that there were never so many alleged fugitives in the jail at Washington as there have been for the last six months, and that they are arrested and imprisoned without the slightest legal process, and given up without examination to any body who claims them. The correspondent of the *New-York Tribune* says that a friend of his had visited the jail, and was astonished at the number. Among them he discovered a slave belonging to a notorious rebel, John A. Washington. According to the Confiscation Act of the extra session, this slave is free. It was understood that he would soon be brought out on a writ of *habeas corpus*. Nearly all the slaves kept in the jail are there without the colour of the law. A writ of *habeas corpus* would show that no legal charge lies against them, and no master appears to claim their services. Every suspicious negro is instantly put into jail, as if he were guilty of treason, instead of being suspected of being a slave. Why these arrests are made no one can tell. The jail-keepers seem to know nothing about it, and to care nothing about the matter, as nearly all of them are bitterly pro-slavery.

In concert with the Government, Marshal Murray has recently perfected in Washington arrangements to baffle the purposes of those slave-traders who, driven from New York, are preparing to prosecute their nefarious traffic abroad. The recent condemnations of the *Sarah* and *Augusta*, and the safe-keeping of important witnesses in the new House of Detention, are said to have thrown the merchants in flesh into such a panic, that they have virtually abandoned the business of outfitting in the United States. It is reported, that, as a last resort, they have determined to transfer their operations to ports like Marseilles and Havre, where the peculiar difference between the cargoes of whalers and slave-ships is not so well understood as in this port. Each steamer to Havana and Europe, for some time past, has carried away some of the piratical gentry, and the Government has recently sent instructions to all American consuls at foreign ports to refuse clearances to vessels from America, whose legitimate cargoes may be discharged and replaced by others of a certain description.

It is reported from Cuba that every steamer from the Northern States brings persons heretofore engaged in the slave-trade, whose business has been ruined by the United-States' Marshals. These men throng the *cafés* and liquor-houses, and express the strongest disgust at the name of Murray. They declare that the officiousness of the

American government has deprived New York of one of her richest sources of wealth; that her first citizens had embarked capital in the slave-trade, and realized handsomely.

It is said that a slave brig, recently equipped at Liverpool, obtained a clearance, and sailed without being detected by the authorities.

Miss Mattie Griffith, who has commended herself to the love and confidence of Abolitionists by emancipating the slaves that had come into her possession under the laws of Kentucky, her native State, thereby relinquishing her only patrimony, and making herself poor that others might be rich in the possession of their freedom, had returned to New York from a visit of more than a year in Great Britain. She was among those who essayed to make the voyage to the United States in the *Great Eastern*; and beside all the suffering endured from the fearful rolling of the ship during the four days that she was at the mercy of the waves, Miss Griffith lost all her baggage, including wearing apparel, family keepsakes, presents from her friends in Great Britain, valuable manuscripts, &c. By the carelessness of the officers of the ship, her trunks, as well as those of many other passengers, were left in an apartment where they were broken to pieces, their contents saturated with seawater, and ground so fine that not a single article could be identified.

WEST INDIES.—Our West-India files are still extremely imperfect. Those we have received are somewhat bare of news.

The census returns for the whole of the colonies have not yet been all made up; but from the published partial accounts it would seem that in Jamaica the population this year numbers some 450,000 in round numbers; in British Guiana, 150,000; in Antigua, 40,000; St. Kitts, about 25,000; Dominica about the same; Tobago, 16,000; Grenada, 34,000; St. Lucia, about 25,000; Barbados, 150,000; in St. Vincent, they are only now taking it; but it will probably be found to reach 30,000; in Trinidad, under 100,000; in the smaller islands, say in Nevis, 10,000; the Grenadines and Virgin Islands about the same; the Bahamas may have 20,000. Taking these numbers together, the British West Indies present, in the year 1861, a population not much under 1,200,000. At Emancipation, in 1838, there were 800,000 slaves in the British dominions, including the Cape of Good Hope. Supposing at the Cape they numbered 100,000, that would leave 700,000 for the West Indies; and putting down the whites at 50,000, and the free coloured at 150,000, that would make the British West-India population in 1838, some 900,000; so that the increase between 1838 and 1861, a period of 23 years, would be from 250,000 to 300,000, or at the rate of from 25 to 30 per cent. If these figures

should be correct, they would shew that some causes were impeding the increase of the people, at the rate which other communities shew, the fact being, that in every twenty years a population ought to double itself by natural increase. Even admitting that epidemics have decimated the West-India population, these would be alone insufficient to account for the low rate of augmentation from natural causes; and it must also be borne in mind that there has been a very large immigration into the various colonies, and that no account was taken, in 1838, of the children under six years of age at that date. Perhaps these remarks may elicit an explanation from some of our West-India contemporaries.

In JAMAICA considerable sales of estates continue to be made, at rates which indicate the great dearth of capital to convert unpaying properties into remunerative ones. For instance, the splendid estate of *Spring Vale*, in the parish of St. John, the property of the late R. L. Constantine, Esq., has just been sold at public auction, under a decree of the Court of Chancery, to Arnold L. Malabre, Esq., of Kingston, for the sum of 1600*l*. We also observe that the insolvent estate of Mr. F. L. Castle, consisting of five properties, comprising 5806 acres, with plant, machinery, crop, and cattle, has been sold for 15,000*l*. In each of these cases, the incoming proprietors will, with proper management, probably speedily realize large fortunes.

At a numerous meeting of the inhabitants of Kingston, held at the Reform Buildings, on Thursday, the 1st day of August, 1861, the twenty-seventh anniversary of Negro Emancipation in the West Indies, G. W. Gordon, Esq., in the chair:

It was moved by Mr. William Kelly Smith, seconded by Mr. G. Hinds, and unanimously resolved: "That this meeting desires to call to remembrance, with deep feelings of gratitude to Almighty God, the glorious act of Emancipation, which was conferred by the British Government on the slaves of Jamaica and other colonies of the West Indies."

Moved by the Rev. J. F. Roach, seconded by Mr. Rue: "That devout thanks also be rendered at this time to the great Author of all good, for his unspeakable mercy to the people of this land, in visiting them with the comforting and refreshing influence of his Holy Spirit, at a season of great spiritual dearth, so that many have been revived, and are now walking in newness of life."

Moved by Mr. F. A. B. Vinen, seconded by the Rev. J. F. Roach, and supported by Mr. H. Willis: "That this meeting desires, with a deep sense of gratitude, to acknowledge the long and tried services of their noble and untiring friend, the Right Hon. Henry Lord Brongham, for having, through

a long and useful career, so nobly served and defended the cause of truth, freedom, and liberty: the warmest thanks of this meeting are hereby tendered to the noble lord, and it is requested that the Chairman and Secretary, on its behalf, do transmit a copy of the foregoing resolutions to his lordship in the most acceptable manner, accompanied by a 'Jewel Box,' made of the woods of Jamaica, as a memento of its sincere gratitude. That this meeting also desires to express its high appreciation of the valuable services of his lordship's late coadjutors, who have 'ceased from their labours, and whose works do follow them.'"

Moved by Mr. G. Hinds, seconded by Mr. Ashley, and supported by Mr. Rue: "That the thanks of the meeting are also due, and are hereby tendered, to L. A. Chamerovzow, Esq., and other friends of the *Anti-Slavery Society* of England, for their able endeavours to repress inhumanity and break the fetters of Slavery and oppression wherever they exist."

G. W. GORDON, *Chairman*.
J. F. ROACH, *Secretary*.

The Legislature of TRINIDAD has passed, and sent home for the Queen's sanction, an enactment, imposing a uniform tax of one shilling an acre upon all lands, cultivated or uncultivated, the amount of which is to be devoted to immigration purposes. This land-tax is regarded as "a deep-laid scheme on the part of the Government, to victimize the holders of small patches of land and the middle-class proprietary. The Chief Justice says that "it is not to the advantage of the labouring population that they should be holders of small patches of land: it would be better for themselves that they sold their labour to the planter." The Attorney-General also says: "Make land as dear as possible, and labour as cheap as possible." The *Trinidad Colonist* alleges that "hundreds of the labouring population are leaving the island, and abandoning their land, rather than submit to the present Ward taxation which is pressing fearfully upon them." There would seem to be some truth in this statement, as the Census returns do not exhibit the rate of increase anticipated. At a recent meeting of the Council of Government, an abstract of these returns was presented, setting forth the total of the population at 84,438. These figures shew an increase of 14,229 on the total given by the Census of 1851. But since that date, 30,000 Coolies, Indian, and Chinese, have been imported. Most of the latter are dead, while few of the former have returned to India. On the other hand, from 7000 to 8000 of the population have, in the interval, died of cholera. The *Trinidad Colonist* justly exclaims, "Something wrong here."

TO MRS. HARRIETT B. STOWE.

THE REV. A. RICHARD'S REPLY TO MRS. H. B. STOWE.

THE following was pressed out from our last, owing to excess of matter over space:

"DEAR MADAM,— You have addressed a letter to Lord Shaftesbury, 'as the fit representative of that portion of the Christian public in England on whom the anti-slavery party in America have most relied for moral support during their long and desperate conflict with Slavery.' I have not the smallest title to answer for Lord Shaftesbury; but there is one portion of the anti-slavery party in England with whom I have relations so intimate as enable me, I think, pretty accurately to interpret their sentiments in reference to the subject of your letter. And without at all bringing their claims as anti-slavery men into invidious comparison with those of Lord Shaftesbury, no one acquainted with the history of that movement in England will call in question their right to be acknowledged as having been the most earnest, devoted, and persistent friends of the cause from its origin to the present hour. They are the people who first rallied, and ever after stood in firm and serried ranks, around Wilberforce and Clarkson, in their long conflict with the slave-trade; the people who, according to his own grateful acknowledgment, first influenced and trained, and then stimulated and sustained, Buxton in his assault on West-Indian Slavery; the people who contributed their Phillippes, their Croppers, their Gurneys, their Sturges, their Forsters, and many others of hardly less value, if of somewhat less note, to the great work of the liberation of the slave; the people who have stood forward and faithful in connection with it, not merely in extraordinary seasons of excitement and *eclat*, but in days of blasphemy and rebuke, and yet more during those long intervals of public apathy, which, more than the most violent opposition, test the sincerity and steadfastness of those who engage in any enterprise of philanthropic reform.

"You are well aware of the source whence this party have derived their inspiration and impulse to the long course of resistance to Slavery, for which they have been so honourably distinguished. It was not from a sense of its political, economical, and social evils alone, though none have perceived these more clearly; it was not from humanitarian sentiment and sympathy merely, but it was from profound religious conviction. It was because they felt that there was an intense and eternal antagonism between that system and the spirit of the Gospel, that to approve or tolerate Slavery was to be guilty of disloyalty to Christ; and that, therefore, they could not be turned aside from their hostility to it by any considerations of commercial expediency, of party convenience, or even of supposed national advantage.

"Your complaint to Lord Shaftesbury is, that you 'have been suddenly abandoned in the very crisis of a battle by the moral force of those brethren in England on whom you had relied as undoubtedly as on yourselves.' Well, so far as the party of whom I am now speaking are concerned, if they seem to have abandoned you, it is pre-

cisely for the same reason that they have clung with such unswerving fidelity to the cause of the slave; because, in their judgment, you have entered upon a course that involves as flagrant an outrage upon the spirit of the Gospel as Slavery itself. So long as you were content to wage war with the great wickedness that curses your country, with such weapons as Christians can consistently employ, you might have counted on their sympathy as certainly, as you could have counted on the operation of the ordinances of heaven and earth. But when they find their anti-slavery friends in America using their utmost efforts to evoke and exasperate the spirit of war, they have no alternative but to part company with them, or to renounce their allegiance to Christ.

"What fills us with perplexity and astonishment in this country is to know what American Christians have done with their New Testaments in these days. Professor Rogers, in his work called *The Eclipse of Faith*, has, in order to shew the value of the Scriptures, imagined a dream in which he sees the whole world thrown into utter consternation by a judicial miracle, which has suddenly effaced divine revelation from the world by converting all the Bibles into blank leaves. Has something of the sort really happened to the Gospels and the Epistles in the United States? At present we can find no trace of their influence on the public sentiment. If the principles and rules of Christian morality had never been proclaimed in your midst, they could not have been more completely ignored than they seem to be now. Of national pride, of fierce resentment, of the sinister patriotism which worships with blind and passionate idolatry a country's flag, and which, in all ages, has been one of the most prolific sources of crime and misery to the world, of contempt for temperate counsel, of confidence in carnal weapons—of all this we have enough, and more than enough. But of that wisdom which is pure, peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, that cometh from above; of the spirit of meekness, gentleness, and forbearance, which Christianity enjoins between brethren; of the slowness to anger, the abstinence from revenge, the readiness to endure and forgive injuries from enemies, so constantly inculcated in the teachings, and so gloriously illustrated by the life and death and doctrine of Christ; of that faith in moral power to conquer evil, even when backed by all the lust and license of brute force, of which the life and conduct of the early Christians presented such a sublime and triumphant exemplification,—of all this we can scarcely discover the slightest sign, even among the great body of the professedly religious public in your country.

"In our New Testament, my dear madam, we find such passages as these—'Have peace one with another.' 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love to one another.' 'Walk with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love.' 'See that none render evil for evil to any man.' 'God hath called us to peace.' 'Follow after love, patience, meekness.' 'Be gentle, shewing all meekness unto all men.' 'Live in peace.' 'Lay aside all malice.' 'Put off anger,

wrath, malice.' 'Let all bitterness and wrath, and anger and clamour, and evil speaking, be put away from you.' 'Avenge not yourselves.' 'If thy enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink.' 'Recompense to no man evil for evil.' 'Overcome evil with good.' 'Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you; and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you.' 'If ye love them only which love you, what reward have ye?'

"There are many persons to whom I should not venture to cite these passages, lest they should be flung back with scorn into my face, and myself charged with whining and sentimental cant for daring to produce them. But I do not fear that you will so deal with these golden sentences, steeped in the very essence of the Christian spirit. If I may judge from your admirable writings, few have ever better comprehended the import, or been more thoroughly penetrated with a sense of that loving and merciful temper of the Gospel, which is expressed in the above citations, and is diffused through the whole New Testament. And, in my estimation, it is not the least of the services you have rendered to the cause of Christian truth, that you have been able, by the powerful magic of your genius, to give currency to such representations of the spirit of our holy religion in circles to which few Christian writers beside have any chance of gaining access. You will hardly be surprised, therefore, to find that, in common with many others, I have been most painfully impressed to find *your* pen and influence now employed to foster to the utmost a spirit which seems to us in utter antagonism to that which, by the power of those rare gifts which God has bestowed upon you, you have enshrined in our admiration and love as the spirit of Christ.

"May I, without offence, ask what is it that American Christians now make of such passages as the above, and a hundred others of similar tenor and tendency, with which the New Testament teems on every page? Have they lost all their significance and application on your side of the Atlantic? If not, what conceivable meaning can you put upon them which shall bring them into harmony with the spirit you are cherishing—with the language you are using—with the work of mutual carnage and blood which you are doing, and preparing to do? Or, without attempting to deny their obvious signification, do you hold that their authority must, for the present, be placed in abeyance in deference to the exigencies of your national policy, and that, great and solemn as are the words of Christ, the interests of the American Union are paramount and supreme?

"In presuming to represent these as the sentiments of one section, and that not the least important section, of the party to which you have appealed, does that imply any defection or faltering on their part, in their devotion to the great cause of the slave's freedom, to which many of them have consecrated a long life of labour and prayer? Not in the least. But they have learnt this as a part of their Christianity, that

they are not at liberty to do God's work with the devil's weapons; that they dare not attempt to establish one portion of Christ's laws on the earth by a daring violation of another portion of that law not less clearly revealed. I believe there are among them men who could honestly adopt the language of a remarkable letter which appeared in the *Times*, *à propos* of your letter to Lord Shaftesbury. 'I think there are some of us,' says this author, 'who would gladly lay down their lives for the peaceable emancipation of the slaves, but who would not have the courage to pray God to bless a war undertaken for that end. Not that we do not intensely desire the destruction of Slavery throughout the world, but that we do profoundly feel the woe, the wickedness, the ruin which a civil war must cause, that we should be appalled by the idea of any men's plunging their country into revolution in the name of "Christian philanthropy." So far from being carried away into admiration for "this sublime movement," this "sublime uprising of such masses in such a cause," we should be shocked by the spectacle of men rushing with fire and sword upon their brethren, in the name of the love of Christ and the love of man.'

"And here I must be permitted to express my astonishment, that you could challenge the admiration of the anti-slavery party in this country to the uprising of your masses for the war, as though there was the slightest ground for assuming that the sentiment which heaved that uprising was any honest hatred of Slavery. Of what do those masses consist, upon whose rising you expect us to gaze with such rapture? Well, among other things, they consist of the million adults who voted against Lincoln's election to the Presidency. They consist of millions more, who, though voting for him, did so with loud and passionate disclaimers of all sympathy with the abolitionists. They consist of editors of newspapers, who have for years overwhelmed the negro and his advocates with every form of coarse and brutal scorn they could devise. They consist of large Religious Societies that carefully erase and cancel from their publications every sentence and syllable which could be construed into a testimony in favour of the slaves' freedom. They consist of ministers of religion, who, only six months ago, published sermons and pamphlets to prove, by elaborate argument, that Slavery was an eminently Christian institution, and that abolitionists were the children of the devil. They consist of thousands of congregations who would no more tolerate a black man to worship in the same pew with them, than they would sleep in the same bed with a leper. They consist of generals, who, up to the last few weeks, have been sending unfortunate fugitive slaves back into captivity, and threatening to put down 'with an iron hand,' any attempt on their part to conquer their own liberty. They consist of a whole community who will neither eat, drink, travel, preach nor pray with a negro. They consist of the well-dressed mobs, who, at the beginning of this very year, assembled in various cities of the North to break up anti-slavery meetings by brute violence; among other places, at Boston, the centre of American intelligence and liberality, where such men as Emerson, Quincy, and

Phillips, for no reason but that they had dared to advocate the cause of the slave, were hooted down with the coarsest insults, the last having to escape by a private way, in order to avoid attacks that threatened his life. And do you really expect us, as anti-slavery men, to fall into speechless admiration of the violent and vindictive uprising against the South of 'masses' so composed, or to believe that they were, or are, actuated by sincere anti-slavery sentiments? We have no faith in the genuineness of a conversion so sudden. And, even if it were genuine, it does not appear to us that sinners so very recently converted, are entitled to call fire from heaven in quite such fierce language, against their fellow-sinners, who, up to within a few weeks, they had strenuously abetted in their iniquity.

"We are now told that the liberation of the slave will be the certain issue of this war, because the American people are coming to see that they can conquer the South in no way so effectually as by proclaiming emancipation; but, if that were true, how does it entitle them to the sympathy and respect of the anti-slavery party in this country? Is it not obvious that they adopt the principle of emancipation, if they adopt it at all, not from any sense of the sinfulness of Slavery—not from any sentiment of kindness for the slave—not from any love of liberty or hatred of oppression—not because they fear God or regard man,—but simply because they imagine it a cunning war-measure against the South: that is, they are prostituting a great moral principle into the mere instrument of their own lust of conquest and revenge. 'If the majority of the American people,' says the *Examiner*, in an admirable article on General Fremont's proclamation, 'still adhering to the Union, sincerely believed that they were bound, as a free and Christian community, to liberate the four millions of slaves, the profits of whose compulsory labour they have indirectly shared in up to yesterday, but the remembrance of which they now find intolerable, we should honour their repentance, however tardy, and content ourselves with adjuring them to contribute, as we did, by a general act of self-sacrifice, to mitigate the loss and suffering to a comparatively small class which any sudden measure of liberation must entail. But neither the Legislative, the Executive, nor the popular voice of the Northern States, has given utterance to any sentiment of the kind. From first to last, emancipation has been used, and used only as a political threat, to coerce the South into submission. That was bad enough; but what is now attempted is much worse; for it is neither more nor less than an attempt to play with one of the greatest and noblest moral principles in the most summary and arbitrary way, to palter with a social and religious truth in a double sense, and to degrade the vaunted immutability of equal justice to the level of ruthless confiscation dealt out by drumhead court-martial.

"If we could have any doubt that the course now pursued by our kindred in America, and so loudly lauded by the anti-slavery party, is wrong in principle, that doubt would be dissipated by observing the deplorable effects, on the

liberties and character of the people, that are flowing from it. For what do we see as the result of a war undertaken, as you say, for 'free speech, free press, and the general liberty of moral influence?' We find that some of the most important guarantees of your constitution are already suspended. We find free speech smothered by threats and imprisonments. We find a free press put down by legal coercion, or the brutal violence of mob law. We find liberty of moral influence so little respected, that no one dare utter a word in favour of conciliation and peace, except at the hazard of being insulted and socially outlawed. We find the old resources of despotism, coming into full swing and sway among you everywhere. Cities are declared in a state of siege. *Lettres de cachet*, or something very much like them, snatch men and women from the bosom of their families on bare suspicion. The passport system is already introduced, and the military conscription seems to loom at not a very great distance, to say nothing of the certain prospect of standing armies, national debt, and the despotism of the sword, with all the infinite evils that follow in their wake.

"Still more melancholy appear, to many of us, the disastrous effects which the war is producing on the moral and religious character of your people. Pregnant hints every now and then reach us of the extent to which the vices of the camp are eating like a canker into the virtue of your young men. But worse than even that is the way in which the Christian sentiment of the nation is giving way to the hard, coarse, material brutalities of military thought and feeling. The sanctuaries of the Prince of Peace are converted into temples of Mars, where the glory of the sword is preached and chaunted enthusiastically, instead of the glory of the cross. The prayers offered up to God are sometimes little else than fierce imprecations against your enemies. The pulpit resounds with language which, if we had heard it anywhere, would have appeared to us vulgar and profane, but which, coming from such a place, strikes as revolting in the highest degree.* The sacred words of inspiration are travestied and twisted out of their natural meaning, in prose and in verse, into the vehicles of a vindictive and warlike patriotism.

"All this, dear Madam, saddens the hearts and revolts the Christian conscience of the best friends of America in this country, and more and more deepens the conviction that a movement which is prolific of such results 'is not and cannot come to good.'

"Yours respectfully.

"HENRY RICHARD."

* "Here is a specimen from the last sermon I have seen, which was preached in an Episcopal church in Philadelphia, in May last: 'The day on which the head of this rebel monster is laid low in the dust, on that very day the blaspheming atheists of the North and East [that is, the abolitionists], who have impiously damned the constitution as a covenant with death and hell, will themselves be damned to public silence, scorn, and oblivion, beyond hope of redemption, and the fire-eating demagogues of the South will be struck dumb with confusion and dismay.'

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1861.

THE KING OF DAHOMEY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

THE King of Dahomey is alleged to be the one chief obstacle to the abolition of the slave-trade from the West Coast of Africa. His inroads into neighbouring territories, in search of captives of war, keep the kingdoms adjacent to his own in permanent alarm. He not only prosecutes the slave-trade, but, on certain occasions, sacrifices considerable numbers of men and women slaves, in accordance with the terrible superstitious "customs" of his country. He is, in consequence, decidedly and deservedly unpopular, and his conversion to more humane practices has become a point of British policy. The object of this policy has our entire, our heartiest concurrence, but we hesitate to pronounce an unreserved approval of the means proposed to be employed to carry it into practice. A close investigation of the various transactions which took place with the father of the present monarch, has led us to the conclusion, that proper means were not used to bring him, his chiefs, and his headmen or caboceers, to assent to a suppression of the slave-trade, and we fear that the experience of the past has not read our rulers a profitable lesson.

It is too much the fashion, even amongst those who profess to be "practical," to treat these African potentates as though they are children or fools. Nevertheless, the experience of all travellers establishes the direct contrary fact. It is equally the fashion to regard them as blood-thirsty savages, whereas—although some of their customs are excessively shocking—it is admitted that the Africans are, as a people, most mild, affectionate, and inoffensive. In the matter of the slave-trade, it is forgotten that the demand for slaves for the foreign labour-markets created the supply, and that the African slave-trade, properly so called, owes its existence to the countenance given to it by those great European and Christian Powers, which have of late years professed repentance of their former evil deeds, and united in a league for its suppression.

The King of Dahomey knows very well that Europeans profess to be far more civilized than himself and his people. Other African potentates are aware of the same fact. They also know that these Europeans constantly make parade of a superior religion; one that teaches humanity, justice, and forbearance. Yet they see that these very people buy men and women who have been stolen from their homes, and thereby pro-

voke inter-tribal wars, with their attendant cruelties and suffering. Can it be a matter of surprise that they are not quick to comprehend the full extent and barbarity of a traffic which these enlightened Europeans stimulate, and in the profits of which they participate?

The necessity of putting down the slave-trade being admitted, we have next to consider how we should proceed to induce the African kings and chiefs to unite with us in efforts for this object. We do not hesitate to assert, that to attempt it by force is unadvisable, unjust, and wicked. For upwards of three centuries and a half, now, the slave-trade—originated by Europeans—has been prosecuted by these Africans, as a legitimate source of profit. When the late King of Dahomey was applied to by Lieutenant Forbes, by Consul Beecroft, by Vice-Consul Duncan, to enter into a treaty with Great Britain for the suppression of the slave-trade within his dominions, he candidly confessed that the loss of revenue to himself and his chiefs, which would result from such an act on his part, constituted the only obstacle to his acquiescence in the demand. May it not be asked whether he was more unreasonable than Spain or Portugal who received, the former, £400,000 hard cash, and the latter, £1,175,675, as compensation for renouncing the slave-trade? Yet both these Powers continue to connive at it to this very hour, and Spain even declares she will not put it down. Suppose the late King of Dahomey had concluded a similar treaty with us; had received the compensation-money; had, nevertheless, continued the traffic; had been remonstrated with during a period of forty-four years, and had then declared that he would not or could not fulfil his engagements: would he have been treated with the forbearance we have shewn to Spain? Assuredly not! Before his delinquency had been two years old, coercive measures would have been employed, and his observance of his engagements enforced. We are no advocates of violent measures, but may be allowed to contrast the different course pursued by our Government when the delinquent is, on the one hand, an African potentate, and, on the other, a strong European Power.

We claim for the King of Dahomey the same consideration in this matter as is shewn to other monarchs. We unhesitatingly declare that we have no right to ask him to relinquish the slave-trade, unless we offer him a compensation equivalent to the revenue he would lose by the abolition of the traffic. It must be borne in mind that his chiefs and his caboceers have an interest in its continuance, as well as he. From it they all alike derive the means of keeping up their rude state. Besides, we compensated the

slaveholders of our colonies, and free-trade was not carried without a long and an arduous struggle. France did not abolish Slavery all at once, nor without compensating the owners of slaves. Portugal is proceeding upon the same principle; so is Holland. Justice, therefore, requires that the basis of any treaty with the King of Dahomey, for the suppression of the slave-trade, should be compensation for relinquishing a traffic which is to him a civil list. If we attempt to coerce him, we shall expend, in the very meanest expedition, tenfold what ought to suffice him and his chiefs and caboceers, and secure the object desired.

It is announced that Captain A. P. Eardley Wilmot, R.N. C.B., has been appointed Her Majesty's High Commissioner to Dahomey, and that he will shortly proceed upon his mission. What his precise instructions are we know not, but it is not so long since Earl Russell and Viscount Palmerston stated that it was in contemplation to make overtures to the King of Dahomey, and if he did not accede to them, to coerce him into submission. If Captain Wilmot's instructions go to this extent, his mission will prove disastrous. Besides, there is no indication of its being upon a scale calculated to impress the king favourably. In the first place he is not going out solely and specially for this one object. Then, his head-quarters are Lagos, a place inhabited by people whom the King of Dahomey regards as rebel subjects of his own; a circumstance not likely to predispose him in favour of the Commissioner. Then, what are Captain Wilmot's qualifications for this important enterprise? As a naval officer, who has some experience of the coast, he may be proof against the African fever, but has he that knowledge of native character, so essential to an envoy commissioned to negotiate peacefully with an African monarch, renowned in his own country for shrewdness and tact. "Send me a man with a good head," said the late king, when a certain official waited upon him for a palaver upon slave-trade matters. Is Captain Wilmot the "man with a good head," to cope with the son of the former monarch? We do not allege that he is not, but we have no evidence that he is. Again, his very character as a naval officer implies a menace. Why not have selected a civilian, familiar with the country and with native habits and customs, and made his mission worthy of the importance of its object. When our purpose is to propitiate one in authority, we usually demonstrate our respect for him, and our desire to please him, by some special act of courtesy. Presents are the rule in Africa. They are not without weight in this country. Well, does Captain Wilmot go out provided with such means of propitiating the goodwill of the Dahomian monarch? If

not; if his mission is not special; if he have instructions of the ordinary kind, namely, merely to propose a treaty to the king, and, in case of his refusal, to proceed to extremities, then we predict his total failure, and our involvement in a native war. We wish success to the Captain's mission, and therefore are alive to its necessities. We do not hesitate to affirm, upon published official reports, that the subject of the suppression of the slave-traffic within his dominions was not reasoned out with, nor brought properly under the notice of the father of the present monarch of Dahomey; and, from all we learn, we labour under an apprehension—it may prove to be unfounded—that Captain Wilmot goes out only to court a failure. The principles to be constantly kept in view, in all similar negotiations, are: that the traffic in slaves has been vigorously prosecuted for upwards of three centuries and a-half, and therefore the kings of Africa cannot be expected to suppress it at once: that if they consent to do so, they will be surrendering their revenue, which must therefore be made up to them in some way: and, thirdly, that if we expect them to keep faith with us, we must scrupulously fulfil our engagements with them.

We wish we could say this had been our practice hitherto.

THE NEW CONVENTION WITH SPAIN.

WE have a few words to say upon the new Convention which has recently been entered into between Great Britain, France, and Spain, for interference in Mexico. This Convention was concluded on the 31st of October last, and ratifications were exchanged on the 15th of November. On the evening of that day a supplement to the *Royal Gazette* gave the text of the new treaty, and the public learnt, only then, that the country was committed to another diplomatic engagement with Spain.

It is not our province to discuss at length the merits of the question at issue between the three contracting powers and Mexico; but it may be taken for granted that each of them has legitimate grounds for requiring a redress of certain outrageous grievances. British, French, and Spanish subjects have been grossly maltreated, and no government may suffer such a state of things, and retain its self-respect. It may be also admitted, that France and Great Britain, being allies, might, without inconsistency, have united to demand reparation at the hands of the Mexican authorities, but to admit Spain into the arrangement, was—at least so far as Great Britain is concerned—a gross inconsistency. Let us prove our point.

In the matter of the slave-trade, Spain has shewn herself to be utterly untrustworthy. Here is a summary of her diplomatic engagements with this country, for the suppression of that accursed traffic.

In 1808, she was first solicited by Great Britain to accede to the abolition of the slave-trade.

In 1814, she concurred with Great Britain on the injustice and inhumanity of the slave-trade, and engaged to prohibit it, except for Spanish possessions, as well as to make effectual regulations to prevent the protection of her flag being given to foreigners engaging in the traffic.

In 1815, at the Congress of Vienna, she signed, in conjunction with Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Portugal, and Sweden, a declaration denouncing the slave-trade.

In 1817, she engaged, by treaty with Great Britain, to render Spanish slave-trade, north of the Equator, illegal; conceded a right of search; established Mixed Commissions; and undertook to abolish the trade entirely throughout her dominions after May 30th, 1820.

In 1818, Great Britain paid Spain 400,000*l.* for losses she alleged she would sustain by the abolition of the slave-trade, and had sustained by the capture of her slave-ships prior to this treaty.

In 1822, by additional articles to this treaty, Spain authorized the condemnation of vessels proved to have had slaves on board, during the voyage in the course of which they were captured.

In 1835, she concluded a Convention with Great Britain, extending the right of search, authorizing the condemnation of slave-vessels on the ground of equipment, and their being broken up after condemnation, and the delivering over to the Government whose cruisers had made the capture, of all negroes liberated by sentence of the Mixed-Commission Court.

Now, how has she behaved? After deliberately pledging her honour to the fulfilment of her engagements, what has been her course? Let the head of Her Majesty's Government make answer.

On the 26th of February last, on the occasion of a debate in the House of Commons, upon certain resolutions upon the slave-trade, presented by Mr. Stephen Cave, the Right Honourable Viscount Palmerston made these observations:

“When we speak of Spain it is impossible to express too strongly one's indignation at the profligate, shameless, and disgraceful bad faith with which the Spanish nation have acted in reference to the treaties concluded with England on this matter. As far back as 1817 the Spanish Go-

vernment bound themselves to put an end to the slave-trade, and received 400,000*l.* as compensation to those who might be sufferers by this change of policy. In 1835, after the Government had mainly contributed, by its assistance and protection, to the establishment of a free Constitution in Spain, we asked, as the only acknowledgment of our services, that Spain would conclude with us a treaty, by which machinery should be established by mutual right of search, Mixed Commissions, and the like, by which the engagement of 1817 might be rendered fully applicable, and an end put to that slave-trade which Spain still carried on, and which she was bound to abolish. We obtained our request. The memory of the services we had rendered her being fresh in the recollection of Spain, she consented to make such a treaty; and if it had been fairly carried out, the Spanish slave-trade would have been as much abolished as that of Brazil. It is extraordinary that a nation, which consists of men, who, taken singly, would blush to do any thing not perfectly honest and straightforward, should, when taken in the aggregate, be guilty of so shameless and abominable a violation of good faith. The conduct of Spain might have given us just cause for war, if we had thought proper to avail ourselves of it. We have repeatedly remonstrated with the Spanish Government in strong language, like that which I have been using. My noble friend has recently spoken to them in the same tone; but I am sorry to say they have hitherto been deaf to a sense of their duty with respect to their national engagement. I trust, however, it is only a remnant of that debased feeling which the arbitrary Government of former days inflicted upon Spain. I hope that those liberal principles and those generous feelings which belong to a popular, representative, and constitutional Government will, before long, have their sway, and that the people will force the Government, to act in a manner more in accordance with national honour and good faith."

On the 3d of July following, the Right Honourable the Earl Russell made the following remarks, on the presentation to him, by an influential deputation, of an Address explanatory of certain resolutions passed at a Conference on the slave trade, which had been held on the 15th of the previous month, at the residence of the Right Honourable Lord Brougham:

"There is really nothing to be said at all to extenuate or palliate the conduct of Spain. Her motives have been obvious enough; while the conduct of Brazil has been, indeed, very praiseworthy. The Spanish Government probably would say that they cannot peremptorily suppress the slave-trade in Cuba; but I dare say they are aware of the fact, that almost every man acting under Spanish authority receives his bribe for the admission of slaves, and grows wealthy by that means. The Spanish Government have not dealt in this matter as they ought to have done, nor have they acted towards this country as they ought."

Language equally strong has been em-

ployed in the despatches to the Spanish Cabinet at Madrid, addressed to it, at various times, by successive Ministers for Foreign Affairs, and the flagrant conduct of Spain has been again and again boldly denounced in both Houses of Parliament, by speakers of most diverse political opinions.

We may leave the above facts to speak for themselves. Comment is really unnecessary under such circumstances. Nevertheless, we may express our profound regret, that after so deliberate a condemnation of Spain; after a declaration of her utter untrustworthiness, the Prime Minister, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs should proceed to stultify themselves and Great Britain in the eyes of the world, by contracting new engagements with this perjured Power. Such a course is open to the severest reprobation. It is calculated to give rise to the opinion that the British Government is not sincere in its desire to put down the slave-trade; to lower its dignity, and to depreciate its character for consistency, both in this country and abroad; greatly to weaken the effect of every remonstrance it may address to Spain, or of any appeal to any other power, to unite with it in representations to Spain against the continuance of this wicked traffic; and it is an actual encouragement to that Power to pursue the same profligate course.

THE PALM-OIL TRADE FROM WESTERN AFRICA.

WE have not unfrequently referred, in these columns, to the extraordinary development of the palm-oil trade from the West Coast of Africa, which has taken place within the last few years. Indeed there would appear to be no limit to the supply; and as the growth of legitimate commerce may be taken as an indication of the progress of the people, it cannot but be interesting to know what has been the actual increase in this, the most important branch of African industry. It is especially worthy of comment, that, at those places on the coast whence the largest quantities of palm-oil are at present exported, the slave-trade used formerly to be carried on to the exclusion of every other kind of trade. It has been entirely superseded by legitimate traffic in a most valuable commodity.

We have obtained from authentic sources a return of the quantities of palm-oil imported into England from the West Coast of Africa, every year, from the year 1790—the earliest on record—to the 31st December 1860. But as a mere statement of figures would be of little practical value for ready use, we have appended a summary of the quantities imported, subdivided into decennial periods. We commend our readers interested in the advancement and welfare of Africa, to study this statement attentively.

Quantity of Palm-oil annually imported into the United Kingdom from the Western Coast of Africa, since the year 1790, to 31st December 1860.

Year.	Quantity.	Year.	Quantity.
	Cwts.		Cwts.
1790 . . .	2,599	1825 . . .	85,366
1791 . . .	3,625	1826 . . .	99,068
1792 . . .	4,609	1827 . . .	94,246
1793 . . .	3,071	1828 . . .	126,553
1794 . . .	1,584	1829 . . .	179,922
1795 . . .	1,350	1830 . . .	213,467
1796 . . .	Records destroyed by fire	1831 . . .	163,288
1797 . . .	2,164	1832 . . .	217,804
1798 . . .	3,336	1833 . . .	266,991
1799 . . .	4,147	1834 . . .	269,907
1800 . . .	4,467	1835 . . .	265,337
1801 . . .	3,897	1836 . . .	276,635
1802 . . .	7,718	1837 . . .	223,292
1803 . . .	9,790	1838 . . .	281,373
1804 . . .	6,327	1839 . . .	343,449
1805 . . .	4,327	1840 . . .	315,458
1806 . . .	7,215	1841 . . .	397,076
1807 . . .	2,233	1842 . . .	420,171
1808 . . .	11,047	1843 . . .	407,884
1809 . . .	14,983	1844 . . .	414,570
1810 . . .	25,754	1845 . . .	500,833
1811 . . .	23,537	1846 . . .	360,452
1812 . . .	11,637	1847 . . .	469,348
1813 . . .	Records destroyed by fire	1848 . . .	499,719
1814 . . .	19,344	1849 . . .	493,364
1815 . . .	41,278	1850 . . .	434,450
1816 . . .	23,831	1851 . . .	584,477
1817 . . .	29,700	1852 . . .	507,896
1818 . . .	29,310	1853 . . .	629,134
1819 . . .	74,049	1854 . . .	731,659
1820 . . .	17,456	1855 . . .	780,599
1821 . . .	102,490	1856 . . .	786,700
1822 . . .	63,754	1857 . . .	854,791
1823 . . .	65,402	1858 . . .	778,230
1824 . . .	73,989	1859 . . .	685,794
		1860 . . .	804,326
	Cwts.		Tons.
1st Decennial Period . . .	26,485		1324 $\frac{1}{2}$
2nd " . . .	67,544		3377 $\frac{2}{3}$
3rd " . . .	278,540		13,927
4th " . . .	918,246		45,912 $\frac{1}{3}$
5th " . . .	2,521,563		126,078 $\frac{1}{3}$
6th " . . .	4,278,875		213,943 $\frac{1}{3}$
7th " . . .	7,578,056		378,902 $\frac{1}{3}$

SLAVES FREE WHO TOUCH SPANISH SOIL.

AN item of "news" has been, for some time, going the round of the newspapers, to the effect that a slave who has once touched Spanish soil is thereby freed. Marshal O'Donnell—who, during his term of office in Cuba, as Captain-General, was one of the most mercenary of officials, and made an enormous fortune there—has been extolled as a sort of Granville Sharpe, for the Decree which he published in the *Madrid*

Gazette, with regard to the condition of slaves, who, having entered Spain, return to a slave colony. But Marshal O'Donnell has done nothing more than declare what is, and has ever been, the law of Spain, which does not recognise the thing, "slave." Hence, indeed, the anomalous condition of affairs in Cuba, where colonial law overrides that of the realm; and hence the opposition which the colonial rulers have always manifested to the introduction of Spanish law into the island, they knowing well, that as, under it, all are alike free, Slavery would at once be abolished were the laws of Spain allowed to have force and effect in the Spanish Antilles. Taken as it is, however, the declaration is none the less valuable, and we have, therefore, much pleasure in re-publishing it. The Marshal's letter was addressed to the Captain-General of Porto Rico, and is couched in the following terms:

"I have laid before the Queen the letter which your Excellency's predecessor addressed to the Ministry of War and the Colonies, dated the 27th of October 1858, accompanying it, by way of proof, with the documents of the examination relative to the slave Rufino, who sold himself at the Havana after having resided for several years in the Peninsula, on which matter he solicited an explicit declaration relative to the Royal order of the 29th of March 1836, regulating the condition to which slaves from the Antilles are subjected on coming into Spain. In conformity with the decision of the Council of State, and in virtue of the above-mentioned decree, Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to declare that slaves coming from that island and from Cuba into Spain with their masters must consider themselves emancipated, without the consent of their owners being indispensable; that the freedom granted to the said slaves, in virtue of the decision of the 29th of March 1836, is not revocable; and that they acquire, by their arrival in the mother country, without any other act being necessary to confirm it, the quality of free men, even should they return to a country where Slavery is authorized by the laws.

"O'DONNELL."

Original Correspondence.

"London, 21st November 1861.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

SIR,—Those of your readers who take an interest in the anti-slavery movement, will no doubt deem the following abstract from a letter that I have just received from Mr. A. R. Chinery, dated Badagry, West Africa, 6th October 1861,

After referring to the large number of slaves continually coming down from the interior of Dahomey, and shipped at Whydah and neighbouring places, he speaks of the men who are trading side by side with himself and other merchants, in the following way:

"There is one fact that hitherto I have not seen referred to, *i.e.* to Portuguese and other foreign merchants on this coast, who profess to

have nothing to do with the slave-trade. Now it is a well-known fact that they have to go into our markets for the major portion of the goods suitable to legitimate trade, and in the ordinary course of business would not be able to sell them at a cheaper rate than we do; but it is a lamentable fact they do so, and can more afford it from the fact that, under cover of a few bales of cloth and a few puncheons of rum, they drive a most lucrative trade in slaves. They buy them one by one, and make them work as labourers till an opportunity offers for shipping them, when they are sent to Godama or Whydah for that purpose. Thus we are driven out of the markets by people who are entirely dependent on the British here for their supply of goods. They buy even at a dearer rate than we do, having to buy through agents, who charge heavy commissions: this accounts in a great degree for the bad state of trade that has so long existed on the coast, especially in the Bight. The only redress for this is, we think, that the Consuls and Governors should have it in their power to expel, or punish in some way, every man proved to have been guilty of buying or selling slaves. If this should be contrary to our treaties with Spain, Portugal, and the Brazils, surely it is worthy a little trouble on the part of the Government; some arrangement might be made with the above Powers, whereby the offenders might be brought to justice, either by sending them home to their own country, or punishing them here. The result of this would be, that many human beings would be spared the miseries of a life of bondage; legitimate trade would flourish and be profitable; and the vast resources of this country would be developed in a tenfold degree to what they are at the present time. Not five minutes walk from where I am now writing, a poor woman, one of the slaves belonging to a Portuguese merchant, was delivered of a child while in irons: this only a few days since, and but one of the many inhuman and barbarous atrocities perpetrated by canting hypocrites under the guise of merchants."

I trust, Sir, that through the medium of your organ the sufferings and sighs of these poor victims, which are brought to my notice in almost every letter, may come to the ears of those in England who have the power to put a stop to such a crying evil.

C. S.

LETTER FROM W. S. BAILEY OF KENTUCKY.

Newport, Oct. 3, 1861.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have just received two copies of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and find in the last (September) number my letter to Mrs. Anna H. Richardson, for which I am much obliged, as it presents some facts in relation to Kentucky, and the tricks of slaveholding Secessionists, professedly Union men, that the good people of England ought to know. These tricks I have exposed with pen and tongue to the utmost of my power, and warned the truly good to keep clear of the leading men of the State, when choosing their captains of companies; such as county judges, clerks of the county and circuit courts, sheriffs, and prominent lawyers, all of whom, or nearly so, and such-like officials, are

owned by the slaveholding oligarchy, and in the most deceptive manner labour and plead for the leadership of some of these hypocritical Union men. I have had but little time to write to friends in England or elsewhere since I returned home, on account of this war for Slavery; and until the true character of this conflict is admitted by the Administration—viz. that the country is to be free from Slavery if the Northern arms triumph—can we expect a speedy termination of the war? The people who love freedom, both North and South, cannot be expected to fight merely for the union of the States, and not for their freedom, as they would do if freedom was one of the blessings to be gained by the victory. The Washington Cabinet is uselessly afraid to make this declaration, lest the Northern sympathizers with Slavery unite with rebellion against the Government. But the true men of the country would like to find out these enemies of the toiling masses, and such a declaration would present the true (now unrepresented) sentiment of the great body of the American people, so as to execute just punishment for their inhumanity. President Lincoln lost favour with the people by interfering with Mr. Fremont's proclamation, confiscating the property of slaveholders aiding rebellion. Government troops are now pouring into Kentucky to assist the true Union men (mostly anti-slavery) in defending themselves against the attacks of disloyal slaveholders destroying their property, and forcing them into the Secession ranks. This is cheering to my friends, whom I have encouraged to remain in Kentucky, and I now think this State will not be driven into disunion against the popular will.

With all the economy I could use, my means are exhausted, and I am now very needy. I had hoped to receive a letter from you soon after my arrival home with some more assistance from the friends of freedom in London. I hope you have something for me now. My friends at New-castle have ten or twelve pounds. The heat of the battle is likely to centre in Kentucky; at least we shall have some hard fighting here. We have had several skirmishes, with ten to twenty killed and wounded, and great excitement prevails throughout the State. But I really think the rebels are under cover here at this time, and I shall do what I can to keep them so: I must say that I have used the little means I had left after my trial to good effect in this State, shewing that Union without freedom was Union for the sake of continued war. If your friends in London—and I trust in God they are mine also—would but raise 200*l.*, and forward to me immediately to "Box 1053, Cincinnati, Ohio," it would give me great relief from pecuniary embarrassment, and make me more useful in the cause of the oppressed, and the freedom of the Southern States. Had I not been forced to leave England to come home to this vexatious suit—a suit, however, that has done much to awaken hundreds of good people to see that slaveholders can persecute to sustain injustice and wrong—I think ere this I could have come home free from the shackles of debt, and caused myself to be felt by slaveholders as their friend, while advocating the freedom of the slaves. This can be done, and at this time with great effect, and had I 1000*l.*,

the amount I had hoped to realize in your country, I could do more good situated as I am, than all the government troops now in the State. I would start my paper, talk to the whole South, be their friend, and they would be mine. Peace would be established, Slavery would cease, and trade revive. Best wishes and thanks to you and friends.

WM. SHREVE BAILEY.

L. A. Chamerovzow.

BRITISH ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

BIRMINGHAM LADIES' NEGROES' FRIEND SOCIETY.

THE usual quarterly meeting of the *Birmingham Ladies' Negroes' Friend Society* was held at Birmingham on Friday, the 1st ult., and was well attended. The minutes of the annual meeting having been gone over, acknowledgments of the new grants were read. The treasurer of the *American Missionary Association*, of New York, in reference to the gift for schools sustained by them in West Africa, remarked, "Incidental to the progress of the war is the emancipation of the slaves, although the Government is not aiming at that directly, as thousands wish they would." The compromises proposed by the North, before the declaration of war, and the restrictions imposed on our commerce by the new President's administration, account, in some measure, for the want of English sympathy for the North; but the members of this Society feel it their duty to protest against any countenance of the South, while the Confederates declare their new Government to be founded on the "Divine institution of Slavery," propose its extension to the utmost of their power, and encourage, as far as they can, the re-opening of the African slave-trade. Responsible as this country must ever stand for the introduction of Slavery on the American continent, no words can set forth too strongly our obligation to do all we legitimately can for its extinction. The impetus now given to cotton-growing all over the globe, inspires the hope that Slavery may thus be abolished. That event consummated, we might return to the use of American cotton, for the wants of free men correspond to the illimitable supplies of nature. Indian, African, and American would all then be required, as was remarked by Mr. Gem, in his speech at the *African-Aid* meeting. Turning from cotton to sugar, the growth of which entails such misery on thousands and thousands of our fellow-creatures, we find at this very time that the supply of labour for the plantations in Cuba is procured by the slave-trade being carried on to an extent without parallel in the annals of this traffic, and this is affirmed on the authority of Judge-Commissioner Crawford, who has been nineteen years on the island. He gives it as his opinion that Spain has

never made any sincere effort to abolish the traffic. A circular, just issued by the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, was read to the meeting, containing the most important matter from Mr. Crawford's last despatches to our Government. The Revs. G. B. Johnson and W. Howard Day, M.A., from Canada, were present at the meeting; and Mr. Day gave an address before the close on behalf of the fugitive slaves in that country, who become British subjects after a residence of three years. He urged the duty of watching over their interests and securing their rights according to British law, narrating the obstacles that had been interposed by magistrates and constables against securing liberty to a boy who had been kidnapped from his mother, a free woman, and was being carried through the country to be sold at St. Louis. Mr. Day emphatically warned against the inroads of pro-slavery spirit and sentiment that, he feared from the observations of a two years' travel amongst us, might roll in on this country; and concluded an address that had gratified his audience, and which they were desirous should have been prolonged.

ANTI-SLAVERY ITEMS.

SLAVE INSURRECTION.—A despatch from St. Louis, dated September 8th, says: "Information has been received here, that about three weeks ago a slave insurrection was attempted in Jasper County, and about thirty-five of the negroes were killed, and a number of others were to be hanged. The discovery of the plot proved that the insurrection was widespread, and that the slaves intended to murder their masters, and perpetrate all manner of barbarities."

A COSTLY REBELLION TO HOLDERS OF SLAVE PROPERTY IN MISSOURI.—A Leavenworth paper says it has information to the effect that one hundred slaves leave Missouri every day for Kansas. At this rate, should this rebellion hold on for a year or so, it will need no emancipation proclamation to make Missouri a Free State. In fact, her "manifest destiny" is already clearly foreshadowed. So much for secession in Missouri.

PROGRESS OF THE AGE.—While Professor Tribus was in Mobile, he had but little to say to the negroes. He was on one occasion greeted by a slave, with a countenance beaming with joy: "Well, Massa Tribus, wot you tink ob de Lincum war?" He replied, "Well, George, I don't know: what do you think?" "Law! Massa Tribus, me tink cibilization am progressing."

EIGHTH CENSUS OF THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES AND TERRITORIES.

THE following table has been compiled from official returns, and exhibits the population of the United States and Territories, according to the Seventh Census (1850), and the Eighth (1860), respectively, with the rate of increase and decrease:

STATES.	SEVENTH CENSUS—1850.					EIGHTH CENSUS—1860.					RATIO OF INCREASE.				
	Whites.	Free Colored.	Total Free.	Slaves.	Aggre- gates.	Whites.	Free Colored.	Total Free.	Slaves.	Aggre- gates.	Whites.	Free Colored.	Total Free.	Slaves.	Aggre- gates.
Alabama	426,514	2,205	428,719	342,844	771,623	526,534	2,030	528,564	435,132	964,206	23,45	16,11	23,41	26,92	24,97
Arkansas	162,189	608	162,797	47,100	209,897	324,186	137	324,323	111,104	435,427	99,88	Loss 77,47	99,22	135,89	107,45
California	313,635	902	314,537	..	314,537	376,200	3,816	380,016	..	380,016	310,34	296,67	310,40	..	310,40
Connecticut	363,099	7,693	370,792	..	370,792	454,210	8,542	462,752	..	462,752	24,37	11,04	24,10	..	24,10
Delaware	71,169	18,073	89,242	2,290	91,532	90,697	19,723	110,420	1,798	112,218	27,44	9,13	23,73	Loss 21,48	22,60
Florida	47,203	932	48,135	39,310	87,445	77,778	908	78,686	61,753	140,439	64,77	Loss 2,58	63,47	57,09	60,60
Georgia	521,572	2,931	524,503	381,652	906,155	591,638	3,459	595,097	462,232	1,057,329	13,43	18,01	13,46	21,10	16,68
Illinois	846,034	5,436	851,470	..	851,470	1,701,684	7,068	1,708,752	..	1,708,752	101,49	30,04	101,04	..	101,04
Indiana	977,154	11,282	988,436	..	988,436	1,440,072	10,869	1,450,941	..	1,450,941	37,14	Loss 3,49	36,68	..	36,68
Iowa	191,881	333	192,214	..	192,214	673,925	1,023	674,948	..	674,948	251,22	207,21	251,14	..	251,14
Kansas .....	..	..	..	..	..	106,487	623	107,110	..	107,110	..	..	..	..	..
Kentucky	761,413	10,011	771,424	210,981	982,405	920,077	10,146	930,223	225,490	1,155,713	20,84	1,35	20,59	6,87	17,64
Louisiana	265,401	17,462	272,863	244,809	517,702	357,042	18,638	375,680	333,010	709,290	39,98	6,73	37,85	36,03	36,99
Maine	581,813	1,356	583,169	..	583,169	627,081	1,195	628,276	..	628,276	7,78	Loss 11,87	7,73	..	7,73
Maryland	417,943	74,723	492,666	90,368	583,034	510,128	83,718	593,846	87,188	681,031	23,49	12,04	21,76	Loss 3,52	17,84
Massachusetts	985,450	9,964	995,414	..	995,414	1,221,011	9,454	1,230,465	..	1,230,465	23,96	4,30	23,79	..	23,79
Michigan	395,071	2,583	397,654	..	397,654	742,289	6,223	748,512	..	748,512	67,89	164,15	88,38	..	88,38
Minnesota	6,038	39	6,077	..	6,077	161,793	229	162,022	..	162,022	257,58	487,18	256,15	..	256,15
Mississippi	295,718	930	296,648	309,878	606,526	353,969	731	354,700	436,006	791,396	19,70	Loss 21,40	19,37	40,93	30,48
Missouri	592,004	2,618	594,622	87,422	682,044	1,064,369	2,983	1,067,352	114,965	1,182,317	79,79	13,94	79,50	31,51	73,35
New Hampshire	317,456	520	317,976	..	317,976	325,622	450	326,072	..	326,072	2,57	Loss 13,46	2,55	..	2,55
New Jersey	465,309	23,810	489,119	..	489,119	647,084	24,947	672,031	..	672,031	39,00	4,77	37,34	..	37,27
New York	3,045,325	49,069	3,094,394	..	3,094,394	3,839,544	47,998	3,887,542	..	3,887,542	25,95	Loss 2,18	25,31	..	25,51
North Carolina	553,028	27,403	580,431	258,548	838,979	631,489	30,097	661,586	331,081	992,667	14,19	9,59	18,37	14,74	14,23
Ohio	1,955,050	25,279	1,980,329	..	1,980,329	2,303,374	36,225	2,339,599	..	2,339,599	17,82	43,30	18,14	..	18,14
Oregon	13,087	207	13,294	..	13,294	52,343	121	52,464	..	52,464	299,96	Loss 41,54	294,64	..	294,64
Pennsylvania	2,258,160	53,626	2,311,786	..	2,311,786	2,840,997	59,373	2,900,370	..	2,900,370	26,20	5,12	25,71	..	25,71
Rhode Island	143,575	3,670	147,245	..	147,245	170,703	3,918	174,621	..	174,621	18,65	6,76	18,35	..	18,35
South Carolina	274,563	8,960	283,523	384,984	668,507	291,023	9,648	300,671	402,541	703,812	6,21	7,68	6,26	4,56	5,28
Tennessee	756,536	6,422	762,958	239,459	1,002,417	826,828	7,235	834,063	275,784	1,109,847	9,25	12,66	9,28	15,17	10,68
Texas	154,034	397	154,431	58,161	212,592	421,411	339	421,750	180,682	602,432	173,58	Loss 14,61	173,10	210,66	183,37
Vermont	313,402	718	314,120	..	314,120	314,534	582	315,116	..	315,116	00,36	Loss 18,94	00,32	..	00,32
Virginia	894,800	54,333	949,133	472,528	1,421,661	1,047,613	57,579	1,105,192	490,887	1,596,079	17,08	5,97	16,44	3,88	12,27
Wisconsin	304,758	635	305,391	..	305,391	774,392	1,481	775,873	..	775,873	154,10	133,22	154,06	..	154,06
TERRITORIES—	19,442,272	424,390	19,866,662	3,290,600	23,067,262	26,725,326	469,709	27,195,035	3,950,343	31,145,378	37,46	10,65	36,89	23,42	35,02
Colorado .....	..	..	..	..	..	34,153	44	34,197	..	34,197	..	..	..	..	..
Dakota .....	..	..	..	..	..	4,839	..	4,839	..	4,839	..	..	..	..	..
Nebraska .....	..	..	..	..	..	26,755	71	26,826	10	26,836	..	..	..	..	..
Nevada .....	..	..	..	..	..	6,863	54	6,917	..	6,917	..	..	..	..	..
New Mexico	61,547	..	61,547	..	61,547	93,447	70	93,517	24	93,541	51,83	..	51,94	..	51,98
Utah	11,351	..	11,351	..	11,351	40,236	30	40,266	29	40,295	254,38	..	254,64	11,53	254,07
Washington .....	..	..	..	..	..	11,548	30	11,578	..	11,578	..	..	..	..	..
Dist. of Columbia	37,941	10,059	48,000	3,687	51,687	60,788	11,107	71,895	3,181	75,076	60,22	10,418	49,78	Loss 13,72	45,25
	19,553,114	434,449	19,987,563	3,204,213	23,191,776	27,005,895	481,115	27,487,010	3,953,587	31,440,597	38,11	10,74	37,62	23,38	35,57

EMIGRATION OF COLOURED PEOPLE TO AFRICA.

A CORRESPONDENCE has taken place between the Rev. Dr. King, of the Elgin Settlement, Canada West, and the Rev. Dr. Livingstone, on the subject of the emigration to Africa of coloured labourers from Canada and the United States, according to the plan suggested by the *New-York-African Civilization Society*. The Rev. Dr. King is well known as the founder of the Elgin and other settlements of coloured people in Canada West. We subjoin from the *Weekly Anglo-African*, the organ of the *New-York Civilization Society*, a correspondence upon the subject which has taken place between him and Dr. Livingstone, who is not favourable to the plan of sending coloured people from Canada to Africa, to cultivate the soil, and teach the native Africans the arts of civilized life.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"Buxton, C. W., Sept. 2, 1861.

"SIR—In last week's *Globe* there was a letter from Dr. Livingstone to Mr. Hannah, Glasgow, in which he alludes to one that he wrote to me in February last, and which came to hand a few weeks ago. I wrote to Dr. Livingstone on the 13th of September 1860, concerning the propriety of sending skilful labourers from Canada to teach the native tribes on the coast, establish legitimate commerce, and put an end to the slave-trade on the coast. I believe firmly that it is the only way in which the slave-trade can be abolished on the coast of Africa.

"An armed naval force cannot do it. Notwithstanding the vigilance of the British cruisers, 40,000 negroes were torn from Africa last year, and sold in Havana and other Spanish ports in the West Indies. Christian settlements on the coast, under British protection, would raise a moral barrier that would put an end to the slave-trade. These settlements would be the nuclei of large agricultural districts for raising cotton and sugar, supplying England with both of these at a less price than it can now be raised by slave-labour. Enclosed I send you a copy of Dr. Livingstone's letter for publication. The Doctor is not very sanguine about the project.

"I remain, yours truly,

"WM. KING."

REPLY.

"On board *Pioneer*, Feb. 15, 1861.

"THE REV. WILLIAM KING.

"MY DEAR SIR—I am sorry that I cannot give the encouragement you desire in reference to

coloured people coming from Canada to Africa to cultivate cotton and sugar. Some of them carry the prejudice against colour wherever they go, and though many are no doubt superior to that silly nonsense, it would prevent the cordial intercourse with their less enlightened African brethren which is indispensable to successful settlement. Were people of colour to come from a healthy climate, they are liable to be attacked and cut off by African fever as Europeans. I entertain, therefore, serious doubts as to the propriety of recommending those who have escaped from Slavery trying to emigrate to Africa; though, if they could cultivate cotton and sugar, they would no doubt, in the course of time, benefit both Africa and themselves.

"Wishing you every success in your present most worthy undertaking,

"I am, &c. &c.,

"DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

"The Rev. WM. KING, Buxton, Canada West."

LATEST FROM AMERICA.

POSTSCRIPT.

New York, Nov. 19 (Evening).

(Per Persia *via* Queenstown.)

THE capture of Messrs. Mason and Slidell forms the leading topic of discussion.

Messrs. Slidell and Mason have been taken to Fort Warren.

The Southern journals report that Jefferson Davis has been elected President, and Stephens Vice-President, of the Confederate States for a term of six years.

The Confederates have again attacked the Federals at Santa Rosa Island, but the Federal fleet shelled them off.

The Georgia planters have held a Convention, in which it was resolved that if the present cotton crop remain unsold, they will not plant any cotton next year.

New York, Nov. 20 (Morning).

General Dix has landed 4000 troops on the eastern shore of Virginia, and has issued a proclamation guaranteeing constitutional rights to loyal inhabitants. It is reported that the Federals were well received by the people of Accomac and Northampton counties.

The Confederates have assembled in force at Big Bethel, and an attack on Newport is expected.

Beaufort has been deserted by the Confederates, but not occupied by the Federals.

On the 16th instant the Federal fleet was still off Beaufort.



THE TWENTY-SECOND
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

FOR THE ABOLITION OF

Slavery and the Slave-Trade throughout the World;

PRESENTED TO THE MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS HELD AT

THE FRIENDS' MEETING HOUSE, WHITE HART COURT,
GRACECHURCH STREET,

LONDON,

ON MONDAY, MAY 20TH, 1861.

T. B. SMITHIES, Esq.

IN THE CHAIR.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY:

AND MAY BE HAD AT THEIR OFFICE, 27, NEW BROAD STREET.

—
1861.

THE TWENTY-SECOND

ANNUAL REPORT

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the World

THE PRINCE OF WELLES STREET, WHITE HART COURT

GRAY'S INN LANE

LONDON

J. H. KENTON, 174

OF THE PRESS

LONDON

Printed by J. H. KENTON, 174

1854

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

I. That the name of this Society be, "THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY."

II. That the objects of this Society be, THE UNIVERSAL EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE, AND THE PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF THE ENFRANCHISED POPULATION IN THE BRITISH POSSESSIONS, AND OF ALL PERSONS CAPTURED AS SLAVES.

III. That the following shall be the fundamental principles of the Society :

That so long as Slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the Slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings ; that the extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a *moral, religious, and pacific character* ; and that no measures be resorted to by this Society, in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles.

IV. That the following be among the means to be employed by this Society :

1. To circulate, both at home and abroad, accurate information on the enormities of the Slave-trade and Slavery ; to furnish evidence to the inhabitants of slaveholding countries, not only of the practicability, but of the pecuniary advantage of free labour ; to diffuse authentic intelligence respecting the results of emancipation in Hayti, the British colonies, and elsewhere ; to open a correspondence with Abolitionists in America, France, and other countries ; and to encourage them in the prosecution of their objects by all methods consistent with the principles of this Society.

2. To recommend the use of free-grown produce (as far as practicable) in preference to slave-grown ; and to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour.

3. To obtain the unequivocal recognition of the principle, that the slave, of whatever clime or colour, entering any portion of the British dominions, shall be free, the same as upon the shores of the United Kingdom ; and to carry this principle into full and complete effect.

4. To recommend that every suitable opportunity be embraced for evincing, in our intercourse with slaveholders and their apologists, our abhorrence of the system which they uphold, and our sense of its utter incompatibility with the spirit of the Christian religion.

V. That every person who subscribes not less than ten shillings annually, or makes a donation of five pounds or upwards, shall be a member of this Society.

VI. That the Society be under the management of a Treasurer, a Secretary, and a Committee of not less than twenty-one persons, who shall be annually elected, and shall have power to fill up vacancies, and to add to their number.

VII. That there be held in London a general meeting of the subscribers once in each year, at which a report of the proceedings, and a financial statement, shall be presented, and a Committee and Officers elected.

VIII. That the Committee have power to transact all business of the Society in the intervals of the general meeting, and to convene special general meetings of the Society when necessary.

IX. That it be recommended to the anti-slavery friends throughout the world to form Auxiliary Societies upon the principles of, and in connexion with, this Society.

X. That Auxiliary Societies be empowered annually to appoint, and where such Auxiliaries are not formed, the Committee shall have power annually to appoint, one or more corresponding members, who shall be at liberty to attend and vote at all meetings of the Committee in London; and that the Committee shall also be authorized to appoint annually honorary corresponding members who shall have the same privileges.

XI. That the Committee do invite and encourage the formation of Ladies' Branch Associations, in furtherance of the objects of this Society.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

THE *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, published on the 1st of every month, is the official organ of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*. Volume IX. of the New Series is now in course of publication. This periodical is intended to be a record of the Society's proceedings, and of the movements made in all parts of the world, for the suppression of the Slave-trade and of Slavery. It is issued at the low price of Four Shillings per annum stamped, Three Shillings unstamped, and may be had on application to the Secretary, at No. 27 New Broad Street, London, E.C., to whom all subscriptions should be forwarded.

NOTICE

RESPECTING BEQUESTS TO THE SOCIETY.

AN Act of Parliament, "for the Amendment of the Laws with respect to Wills," having been passed on the 3rd day of July 1837—which Act came into operation on the 1st day of January 1838—the attention of all persons who may contemplate making Bequests to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society is respectfully called to the following Section:—

1 VICTORIAE, cap. 26, sec. 9.

And be it further enacted, "That no Will shall be valid, unless it shall be in *writing* and executed in manner hereinafter mentioned; (that is to say) it shall be signed at the foot or end thereof by the Testator, or by some other person in his presence or by his direction; and such signature shall be made or acknowledged by the Testator *in the presence of Two or more Witnesses present at the same time*; and such Witnesses shall attest and shall subscribe the Will *in the presence of the Testator*; but no form of attestation shall be necessary."

N.B.—Wills executed *prior to the 1st day of January, 1838*, are not affected by the new Act; but *any alteration therein, or Codicil thereto, must be executed in the manner before-mentioned.*

The following extract from a work recently published is worthy of particular attention:—

"The Statute of 9 Geo. II. c. 36, called the Mortmain Act, is not repealed or altered by the 1 Victoriae, c. 26; and therefore legacies to charities out of *real estate* will still be void. If a Testator desire to leave legacies to charities, he must take care to make them payable, either expressly, or by ordinary course of law, out of such *personal estate* as may be applied for that purpose. A bequest to a charity of a term of years, or leasehold property; or of money to arise from, or be produced by, the sale of land; or by the rents, profits, or other interest arising from land; or a bequest of money, to be laid out in land; or a bequest of money secured by mortgage; or a bequest of annuities charged on land, or rather rent-charges; or a bequest of money, with a direction to apply it in paying off mortgages on schools or chapels; or a bequest of money secured on parochial rates, or county rates or turnpike tolls—is, in each case, void; and even where no particular fund is pointed out in the Will, for the payment of charitable legacies, and they are consequently a charge on the residue, and the residue consists, in part, of property of all or either of the kinds above specified, so much of the legacies will become void as shall bear the same proportion to the entire legacies, as the exempted property bears to the entire residue."

FORM OF A BEQUEST TO THE SOCIETY.

I give and bequeath unto the Treasurer, for the time being, of the THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-Trade throughout the World, instituted in London in the year 1839, the sum of
Pounds Sterling;

to be paid with all convenient speed after my decease, exclusively out of such part of my personal estate not hereby specifically disposed of, as I may by law bequeath to charitable purposes, and I hereby lawfully charge such part of my estate with the said sum upon trust, to be applied towards the general purposes of the said Society; and the receipt of such Treasurer for the time being of the said Society shall be a sufficient discharge for the said Legacy.

If the Testator wishes the Legacy to be paid free of Duty, he will add the following words to the above form: *and I direct that the Legacy Duty upon the said Legacy be paid by my Executors out of the same Fund.*

* * Devises of land, or of money charged on land, or secured on mortgage of lands or tenements, or to be laid out in lands or tenements, or to arise from the sale of lands or tenements, are void; but money or stock may be given by Will, if not directed to be laid out in land.

LIST OF OFFICERS AND CORRESPONDING MEMBERS,

For 1861.

Treasurer.

GEORGE WILLIAM ALEXANDER, Lombard Street.

Committee.

WILLIAM ALLEN.
ROBERT ALSOP
THOMAS BINNS
REV. JAMES CARLILE
JOSEPH COOPER
JOSIAH FORSTER

ROBERT FORSTER
R. N. FOWLER
S. FOX
CHARLES GILPIN, M.P.
EDMUND STURGE.

Secretary.

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW.

Corresponding Members.

G. W. ANSTIE, Devizes
JOHN BEAUMONT, Ufford, near Woodbridge
REV. WILLIAM BEVAN, Wolverhampton
SAMUEL BOWLY, Gloucester
JOHN CANDLER, Chelmsford
L. F. & A. COURTOIS, Toulouse
JOHN CROPPER, Liverpool
PROFESSOR DAVID, Copenhagen.
PROFESSOR G. DE FELICE, Montauban
THOMAS HARVEY, Leeds
REV. JOSHUA LEAVITT, Boston, U.S.
R. R. MADDEN, M.D., Dublin
SAMUEL HORMAN-FISHER.
J. F. P. MOQUETTEE, Amsterdam
WILLIAM MORGAN, Birmingham

THOMAS PEASE, Bristol
RICHARD PEEK, Hazlewood, near Kingsbridge
HON. S. J. PRESCOD, Barbados
M. GROEN VAN PRINSTERER, the Hague
SAMUEL RHOADS, Philadelphia, U.S.
HYP. DE ST. ANTHOINE, Paris
H. R. ROMMEL, Frankfort
REV. A. V. SCHELTEMA, Amsterdam
PROFESSOR STOWE, Andover, U.S.
LEWIS TAPPAN, New York, U.S.
J. G. WHITTIER, Amesburg, Massachusetts, U.S.
WILLIAM WOOD, York
PROFESSOR WORMS, Hamburg.
J. H. WOLBERS, Utrecht.

THE TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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REPORT.

WITH the expiration of another year, the duty devolves upon Your Committee of submitting to you their annual summary of the events which have marked the progress of the anti-slavery movement, in this country and in others, since they last addressed you.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

AFRICA: WEST COAST.—Your Committee regret to state, that the year 1859-60 has been characterized by an extraordinary increase of the African slave-trade. The statement made by Lord John Russell, in the last session of Parliament, that during the previous year from thirty thousand to forty thousand negroes had been conveyed to the island of Cuba, has been fully substantiated by the publication of the Slave-trade Papers to the 31st of March 1860, bringing information from Havana to the 31st of December 1859.* This implies a much larger number, shipped from the African coast; and inasmuch as the traffic is carried on almost exclusively under the American flag, there is increased difficulty in dealing with the evil. It is, however, satisfactory to learn, that very little slave-trading is carried on from the BIGHTS OF BENIN and BIAFRA on the WEST COAST. This fact would encourage Your Committee to believe that the trade is in course of extinction, were it not that official reports shew that the enormous demand for the Cuban market is supplied in some measure from Whydah, but chiefly from the CONGO on the SOUTH COAST.

Some idea may be formed of the increased activity of the slave-traffic from the WEST COAST, from the following extract from a

despatch from Commodore Wise to Rear-Admiral Sir F. Grey, dated on board the *Vesuvius*, at sea, lat. 5° 33' S., long. 10° 25' E., July 20th 1859. He says:

"Having endeavoured to give you a faint idea of the slave-trade, as conducted in 1859, I would beg to draw a comparison with the two previous years.

"In 1858 and 1859, 22,000 slaves are believed to have been imported into Cuba, the number shipped being much about 11,000 each year; but in the short space of four months, ending 1859, no less than thirty-seven vessels, capable of containing 24,000 slaves, have sailed from Western ports for this station. If slave-trading expeditions continue to be despatched for Africa in the same proportion during the eight months commencing 1st of May 1859, 105 slavers, capable of conveying 71,000 slaves, will arrive on the African coast in the course of the twelve months ending in March 1860. Taking the average captures, one fourth of that number will be seized by Her Majesty's cruisers, still leaving seventy-nine vessels, capable of containing about 53,000 slaves, to run their chance of eluding Spanish men-of-war off Cuba. Now this calculation I believe to be much under the actual facts, being exclusive of slaves shipped from the East Coast of Africa."†

In consequence of the non-publication of the Slave-trade Papers for the current year, which, nevertheless, Lord John Russell promised should be ready by the 31st of March, bringing information down to the 31st of December 1860, Your Committee are not in a position to state whether Commodore Wise's forebodings have been verified; but they fear such has been to a great extent the

* *Vide Appendix.*

† Slave-trade Papers, 1860. Class A. page 121.

case, if any reliance is to be placed upon accounts from unofficial sources.*

In a later despatch, dated from St. Helena, October 22nd, 1859, Commodore Wise reported seventy vessels as having arrived on the African coast during the nine months ending the preceding July, and 20,000 slaves as having been conveyed away from it. One highly important fact is deducible from Commodore Wise's despatch, namely, that only one slaver out of four is captured by the cruisers. The chances of successful ventures, under such circumstances, may be readily inferred, when it is borne in mind, that formerly, if two slavers out of five escaped, the profits upon the remaining three were held to yield ample compensation for the risk; and that three years ago, one successful venture in six left an enormous return. But three successful expeditions out of four would yield considerably above one million sterling to the slave-traders, according to the basis laid down by Mr. Crawford, Her Majesty's Commissioner at the Havana; so that the most powerful of all inducements exists for the continued prosecution of this most hateful traffic.

With reference to the trade from the SOUTH COAST, it is difficult to state, with any degree of certainty, to what extent it was prosecuted during the year 1860, and even in 1859, inasmuch as the latest annual report of Mr. Commissioner F. Gabriel is dated from Loanda, April 15th, 1859, and refers to the state of that part of the coast, only up to that period.* From this gentleman's report, it would appear that the chief portion of the trade is carried on from between Cape Lopez and Cabenda, and from the Congo, the slaves being bought at Embomma and other large markets in the interior of the Congo country, and conveyed down the river in canoes to spots suitable for temporary concealment, whence they are shipped or sent overland to points north or south of the river, according as the traders find the coast clear of cruisers. The French compete in this district with the regular traffickers in human flesh, drawing their supplies from the same districts, and prosecuting their operations more successfully, because more openly, under a flimsy pretext of humanity.

EAST COAST.—Since the departure of Mr. J. Lyons M'Leod, late British Consul at Mozambique, the slave-trade appears to have increased in activity, on the East Coast, especially from the Portuguese possessions. Colonel Rigby, Agent of the Indian Government and British Consul at Zanzibar, reports to the Governor-in-Council at Bombay, under date of the 25th July 1859, that a considerable trade in slaves is carried on from the territory of the

Sultan of Zanzibar; from Ibo, within the Portuguese dominions, in about 12° S.; from the Bay of Poona; and from the vicinity of Mozambique. Messrs. G. Frere and F. R. Surtees, Her Majesty's Commissioners at Cape Town, confirm this statement, in their Annual Report, dated from Cape Town, 16th of January 1860. From Ibo, four cargoes for the Cuban market had been shipped prior to the month of August in that year, and other vessels from the same quarter were expected. From Angoxa, also, a considerable trade was carried on, but against the wishes of the Arab Governor, who is represented as being more favourably disposed towards suppression than the Sultan or Chief, his superior. In general, the accounts from various sources concur in shewing that the slave-trade has considerably increased in the Mozambique channel.

Rear-Admiral Grey states that the exportation of negroes from the East Coast, by the French, has been suspended, and that what slave-trading there is, is carried on chiefly for the Cuban market. He alleges, that unless active measures for its suppression are taken, the export of slaves in vessels driven off from the West Coast will rapidly increase.

AFRICAN IMMIGRATION.

Your Committee have only the statement of Rear-Admiral Grey—on the authority of Colonel Rigby—for alleging that no more negroes are exported from the East Coast of Africa to supply the French colonies with *engagés*, or so-called free-labourers. If, however, this objectionable system has been discontinued on the East Coast, it has certainly not diminished upon the West Coast; and no attempts are now made to conceal the fact of the negroes being slaves, who are purchased by the agents of the French Government. One vessel—the *Splendide*—went to Rio de Janeiro with a cargo of horses from the Mediterranean. She re-fitted out at that port, in every respect as a regular slaver, to take 800 Africans on board, her destination being the West Coast; and when Rear-Admiral Sir S. Lushington communicated privately on the subject with Rear-Admiral de Chabannes, Commander-in-Chief of the French naval forces on the Brazil station, the latter informed him that the vessel was quite in order, and that she had on board two medical officers of the French navy, and two special Commissioners of Immigration.

Mr. Edmund Gabriel, speaking in his Report, already referred to, of the French immigration scheme, alleges that the agents of Messrs. Regis & Co. draw their principal supplies from the interior of the kingdom of Congo and from Loando. They have barracoons established at Embomma and at Bavana Creek, whence as many as 4000

* Vide Appendix.

negroes were shipped in the year then expired. The French agents pay 5*l.* and 6*l.* for each slave, in well-assorted goods on which they realize a large profit. These slaves are bought from the native traders, who bring them for sale in small numbers, with the palm-oil and other produce of the country; and as the French dealers have a complete assortment of goods, their operations extend far into the interior, paralysing the desire for legitimate trade, and aggravating the spirit of barbarity whence spring the tendencies of the native chiefs to prosecute the odious traffic, in preference to lawful trade.

BRAZIL.—The reports from **BRAZIL** embrace the provinces of **RIO DE JANEIRO**, **BAHIA**, **ST. CATHERINE'S**, **PARA**, **PERNAMBUCO**, and **RIO GRANDE DO SUL**. The concurrency of testimony is unanimous to the total extinction of the slave-trade throughout the empire, and to the decided disinclination towards any attempt at its revival. The authorities continued to manifest the most laudable activity in following up any rumours tending to the supposition of an infraction of the laws at any point. In every case such rumours were discovered to have had no foundation in fact. In the province of **ST. CATHERINE**, from which an extensive coast-wise slave-trade used to be carried on, this branch of traffic has almost ceased. In 1852 the number exported was 346; in 1859 it was only 74. In the province of **PARA** the slave population is rapidly becoming extinct through self-manumission and departures to other parts of the empire. Mr. Consul Vereker states, that in the province of **RIO GRANDE DO SUL** the assembly had shewn a desire to discourage the importation of slaves, by voting a law to impose a tax of 20*l.* on each slave imported. The law had, however, not been sanctioned by the central authority at Rio, on constitutional grounds.

CUBA.—The increased activity of the slave-trade to Cuba continues to form the subject of continued but unavailing remonstrances from the British Government to that of Spain. In their latest published Annual Report to Lord John Russell, dated from the Havana, 31st December 1859, Her Majesty's Commissioners make the following remark:

"Another year has passed by, and instead of the slave-trade having been checked or put an end to, it is our unpleasant duty to state to Your Lordship that it has been carried on, and is being prosecuted, to an extent hardly exceeded in the most flourishing period of that inhuman and detestable traffic previous to the celebration of the treaty and enactment of the laws for its prohibition and suppression.

"* * * "We have had information of the introduction of no less than thirty-nine cargoes, with 22,855 negroes; add to which one third, as usual, and we have the enor-

mous number of 30,473 slaves landed here this year, of whom 447 have been captured by a Spanish cruiser."

In the preceding year, the number estimated to have been landed was 16,992; but the Commissioner stated, that he was by no means satisfied that this was the real number. The hush-money and the safe conduct bribes for one cargo alone of 980, were said to have amounted to 200,000 dollars, about 40,000*l.* The cost of a negro on the coast of Africa is set down at 6*l.*, at the outside, paid in goods, on the barter of which there is 100 per cent. profit. The same negro sells in Cuba for 170*l.* Hence it will be seen that the margin for profit is enormous, even admitting that it is diminished in the extreme proportion of two thirds, the full allowance for risk, adding 30*l.* per head for bribes instead of 14*l.*, as used to be the case; for the rate of hush-money has been raised from four doubloons per negro to nine. Indeed, the trade is so lucrative, and the inducements to the local authorities for connivance so great, that Her Majesty's Commissioners speak of the prospect of its suppression as utterly hopeless, so long as the Spanish Government refuses to adopt active measures for its suppression. A change of Captain-General makes no alteration in this discouraging state of things, as is evident from the increase of the traffic under Don Francisco Serrano, Conde de San Antonio, who entered upon the duties of his office on the 24th of November 1859, *vice* Lieutenant-General Don José de la Concha, Marques de la Habana, recalled to Madrid after serving a second term in Cuba.

THE CUBAN EMANCIPADOS.—No effort appears to have been spared by Her Majesty's Commissioners to obtain a correct return, and the release of that unfortunate class of the coloured race in Cuba known as *emancipados*. These efforts have been utterly unsuccessful, because the authorities have a direct interest in defeating the object of any inquiry. By our treaties with Spain, all negroes surreptitiously introduced after 1817 became entitled to their free papers, conditionally upon serving a term of apprenticeship fixed at five years. Very few of this class are likely to be now in existence; but as the bulk of the slave population of Cuba is embraced in the category to which the *emancipados* belong, an honest fulfilment of our slave-trade treaties with Spain would involve the immediate and unconditional freedom of all the slaves of the island, within a period of five years from any given date. It is quite true that a precedent condition to becoming entitled to the rights of an *emancipado* is, that each negro shall have been brought up before the Mixed-Commission Court and duly registered; but the Cuban authorities must be aware that no Bozal negro can have been introduced otherwise than clandestinely

any time since 1817, and therefore every actual slave and his descendants have a *prima facie* claim to the privileges of an *emancipado*. Of the class 1853, Her Majesty's Commissioners allege that there were 4500 to 5000 at the close of July 1859; and that the British Government might obtain an accurate account by pressing the Spanish Government for a return. To this opinion Your Committee take exception, and found their views to the contrary upon the result of previous applications, one of which drew from the Cuban authorities, in 1854, a statement notoriously false in its essential particulars, but which—withstanding an exposure of its falsity—has never been corrected, while every representation made upon the subject has been treated with contemptuous silence.

The last understanding which the British Government had with that of Spain, in relation to the *emancipados*, was on the 16th of March 1853, when it was decreed that the *emancipados* in Cuba, proceeding from the treaty of 1817, should all receive their freedom before the expiration of the year, with permission to remain in the island if it suited them. Those proceeding from the treaty of 1835 were also to obtain their freedom at the same time, if they had completed their term of five years' apprenticeship. This decree was practically useless with regard to the class 1817, and probably in a lesser degree to the class 1835. Out of the 11,243, however, reported as being "to account for" under these treaties, 5957 were alleged to be either "dead, runaways, maroons in rebellion, lunatics, and inmates of alms-houses." The same report set forth that 2098 *emancipados*—the balance due on the highly ingenious account concocted for the occasion—were out in the island on hire. Now, the records of the Mixed-Commission Court shew a perfect blank in the cases of slavers adjudicated since the report referred to above was tendered; yet the number of *emancipados* estimated by Her Majesty's Commissioners as being entitled to their freedom in January 1860 was 4600; a discrepancy which demonstrates how futile is any attempt to arrive at the truth, in cases in which the Cuban authorities have an interest in concealing it. Your Committee believe that Her Majesty's Commissioners have furnished the best information in their power, but they also believe that the systematic falsehood practised in relation to every branch of inquiry bearing upon the question of the extent of the slave-trade to Cuba, and to the condition of the *emancipados*, as well as to the number of the slave-population is fatal to any approximate estimate of the actual state of things; and they fear that the task must be regarded as hopeless.

MUSCAT.—The Imaum of Muscat and

the Sultans of ANGOXA and ZANZIBAR have treaties with the British Government for the suppression of the slave-trade. From the reports of Colonel Rigby, British Consul at Zanzibar, Your Committee derive the information, that within the Portuguese territories, and from them, and with the full knowledge of the Portuguese authorities, an extensive slave-trade is carried on. It is a great disadvantage to Your Committee not to be in possession of the latest information from these parts. What they have does not extend later than the close of November 1859.* Apart from the commerce in negroes, procured for the island of Réunion, and for the French West-India Colonies, which had greatly stimulated the cupidity of the native dealers—chiefly Arabs—all the evidence accessible shews that a trade with Cuba from these localities has been developed, the activity and extent of which bear some proportion to the diminution recorded upon the West Coast. Mr. Rigby asserts, that during the season 1858, thirty thousand English sovereigns had been remitted to Zanzibar for the use of the French Agent M. Mas, and that nearly 8000 slaves had been purchased from that part of the coast alone, for what may be called, with perfect propriety, the French slave-market. These transactions were carried on under the guns of a French vessel of war, in violation of the orders of the Sultan of Zanzibar, who had firmly resisted every attempt of the French to establish this new slave-traffic in his dominions. These proceedings had created a feeling of hatred against white men, amongst the population of the Madagascar coast, and stopped all trade. As an illustration of the casualties which characterize this traffic, assimilating it in another particular to the regular slave-trade, Mr. Rigby instances a purchase of 424 slaves within the Zanzibar dominions, who were taken to a neighbouring place called Lamoo, and of whom only 199 survived. A correspondence had ensued respecting these transactions between the Governments of England and France, which had resulted in a defence by the latter of the system condemned by the former, but in an assurance that it should be terminated. This promise would appear to have been carried out up to a certain period; but whether it has been revived Your Committee are unable to say in the absence of the official papers containing information on this subject for the years 1859 and 1860.*

PERSIA.—A partial revival of slave-trade had taken place in 1859, from the territories of the Chief of Lingah in the Persian Gulf. A representation to that effect had been made to Meerza Said Khan, which had elicited an

Vide Appendix.

assurance of such trading being in contravention of his orders.

TURKEY AND THE LEVANT.—Some few instances of slave-trading, which have been reported from TRIPOLI to CONSTANTINOPLE, indicate that the efforts of the Turkish Government have not yet resulted in complete success. Nevertheless, the accounts for 1859, as compared with those for 1858, denote a decided diminution. The Bey of TUNIS manifested the utmost determination to suppress all slave-trading within his government, and had not only caused one notorious dealer to be imprisoned for infringing the law against slave-trading, but had manumitted eighteen slaves whom the delinquent had bought and brought into the country. The Governor of MASSOAH, a Turkish province, had obstructed the efforts of his Government, and threatened the British Consul with violence for insisting upon the observance of the anti-slave-trade policy of the Ottoman Porte. This functionary had, however, been summoned to Constantinople, in order to be examined on the subject of this threat, but the result is not set forth in the papers last issued. Your Committee would remark, that in the present disorganized state of the Turkish empire, it seems unlikely that a rigid observance of the prohibition to trade in slaves can be expected at the hands of the provincial officials, with whom rests the power of putting a stop to the traffic.

OBSERVATIONS.

While Your Committee do not concur in the opinion which has been expressed in various official forms, to the effect that the Slave-trade is, at the present time, prosecuted on a scale without parallel in the history of the traffic, they exceedingly lament the extent to which it is undoubtedly carried on, and to the increased facilities to its successful prosecution which result from the abuse of the American flag. Formerly Brazil consumed an average number annually of 60,000 negroes, and in some years the importations reached 80,000. The traffic to that country has now entirely ceased, owing to the determined efforts of the local authorities to put it down. The exportation of negroes from the Northern parts of Africa, to supply the Turkish and Tunisian markets, also exhibits a marked diminution, the numbers now conveyed away being limited to three or four hundreds, instead of exceeding as many thousands. But the permanent demands for the mart open in Cuba, and the large requirements of the French to furnish their colonies with what have been falsely styled "free-labourers," combine to defeat all attempts to extinguish the trade, and certainly tend to increase the activity of the slave traders on the coast of Africa, to an extent which in a measure justifies the broad

statements Your Committee have referred to. The trans-Atlantic traffic in negroes may be computed as having been reduced two-thirds since the closing of the Brazilian market; for notwithstanding official statements to the contrary, Your Committee believe that the number of slaves imported into Cuba, for many years past, has averaged 20,000 annually; some years fewer, other years more, as in 1859. The concentration of the traffic to some forty miles of the West Coast, and to the Congo River, has necessarily attracted the slavers to these localities in much larger numbers than formerly, and hence a certain foundation for the reports Your Committee have referred to. Under any circumstances, it is lamentable to contemplate that the delinquency of one Power should entail upon this country an annual expenditure of not less than one million in endeavours to suppress a traffic which Spain has bound herself by treaty to put down. It may be computed that every slave introduced into Cuba, costs the tax-payers of England 50*l.* sterling, besides an irreparable sacrifice of human life, in one of the most unhealthy branches of the naval service. These facts are the more to be regretted, because there is a unanimous concurrence of testimony to shew that wherever legitimate commerce has been fostered upon the coast, it has been rapidly developed, and has entirely superseded the odious traffic in negroes. In the Bights it has been making most encouraging strides, the exports shewing an annual increase; and as there is scarcely a limit to the demand for the commodities which form the staple of native trade, it may be safely predicted that nothing more is required to develop it to any extent, on those parts of the coast where it is yet only in its infancy, than due and legitimate encouragement. Your Committee regret to say, however, that in the suppression of some of the consular posts on the West and the East Coasts, the British Government appears to be adopting a policy the reverse of sound, and which is calculated to retard the development of native agriculture and commerce. At the same time its attention has been directed to a consideration of the means which may be employed to accomplish the total extinction of the slave-trade. In February 1860, Lord John Russell addressed a circular despatch to the British Ministers at Paris, Madrid, Lisbon, Washington, and Rio de Janeiro, proposing that representatives of these Courts should meet in London, some time in the month of May or June that same year, to consider what measures should be adopted to put down the slave-trade, and stating that the British Government would be prepared to submit certain propositions to the delegates of the other Powers. If the measures which Lord John Russell would have been prepared

to lay before the Congress for approval, were in substance identical with the suggestions he submitted to the American Cabinet in July last, embracing a blockade of the Cuban coast by the united squadrons of England and the United States, a general system of registration of the slaves in Cuba, and a wholesale introduction of foreign labourers into the island. Your Committee are under the impression that the arrangement would not effect the object proposed. In the first place, no blockade of the Cuban coast is likely to be effectual, owing to the great extent of the seaboard, and it would involve complications, which were pointed out with much force by the American Minister, in his reply to this despatch. In the second place, a law for the registration of the slaves in Cuba was passed in 1834, but the corruption of the local authorities rendered it a dead letter. Lastly, to favour immigration into a slave colony, would be to expose the personal liberty of the immigrants to imminent danger, let alone that as no interference on the part of a foreign Government could prevent the Cubans from importing labourers from China or elsewhere, no practical advantage would be likely to accrue from any attempt to promote immigration into Cuba on an extensive scale. So long as Spain is permitted to break her engagements with impunity, and is not dealt with as a delinquent Power, it seems like trifling with this grave question to propose measures which do not embrace some kind of combined action with regard to her; and Your Committee are forced to the discouraging conclusion, that political reasons are powerfully influencing the action of the British Government in this matter; for it is not to be admitted, that if it had been so disposed, it might long ago have found a means of compelling Spain to fulfil her engagements, and this without having recourse to hostilities.

SLAVERY.

The events of the past year have been of the most momentous character, and lead to the conclusion that the long anticipated crisis in the history of Slavery has arrived; indeed any day may bring intelligence of a catastrophe in the United States, involving the whole slave population in the miseries of a civil war, or opening to it a prospect of freedom at no remote date.

AMERICA.

To the attentive observer, it had long been evident that, sooner or later, the question of Slavery would force itself upon the community in a manner to admit of no delay in dealing with it, with a view to a solution of the numerous difficulties its existence involves. Those who foretold a violent disruption of

the Union, have found their predictions verified in the secession which has taken place of certain of the Slave States, and in the civil war which has resulted from the first attempts of the Federal Government to enforce its authority and maintain the laws. The Republican Party, defeated four years ago by the election of Mr. Buchanan, gathered up its strength for the Presidential contest of 1860, and, partly owing to a better organization, and in a measure to the divisions in the camp of the Southerners, succeeded in placing its candidate, Mr. Abraham Lincoln, in the Presidential chair. Although Mr. Lincoln is not an Abolitionist, and is pledged only to the policy of non-extension, a party in South Carolina, representing the most violent and unscrupulous partisans of Southern institutions, found in his election to the highest office in the Republic, a pretext for discord, and immediately commenced an agitation which resulted in the formal secession of this State. The ranks of the Secessionists—whose proceedings have been most deliberate, and bear the appearance of a premeditated conspiracy—were soon swelled by the disaffected in six other States, and at length, at a Convention held at Montgomery, Alabama, seven States constituted themselves a separate and independent Government, under the designation of the Confederate States of America, voted a Constitution, elected Mr. Jefferson Davis President, and proceeded to discharge all the functions of a regularly-organized Power. In their new constitution, they declared that the slave-trade with foreign countries should be abolished, but they provided for the maintenance of Slavery as the basis of their institutions, and for the rendition of fugitive slaves. They then set on foot a considerable militia force, and invested Forts Sumner and Pickens, having—through the treachery of some of the heads of departments under President Buchanan—obtained possession of the war-material belonging to the Federal Government, and dispersed the navy upon distant missions. When this revolutionary movement assumed definite proportions, Mr. Buchanan, who was then in office, considerably strengthened it by conceding, in his Annual Address, the right of secession to the rebellious States, and denying the power of the Federal Government to deal with them. From the date of the election of Mr. Lincoln to that of his inauguration, a period of three months, the Secessionist leaders had ample opportunity to mature their plans, so that when Mr. Lincoln assumed the reins of power, he found the difficulties of his exceptional position greatly increased, by the state of preparedness, against every contingency, in which the rebellious States had been enabled to place themselves. Nevertheless, he declared at the outset that he intended to maintain the laws of the United States, to

collect the revenue, and to keep possession of all United-States property, but that he did not propose an invasion of any of the seceded States. It was manifest that he desired to avoid a bloody collision, if possible, for he constantly insisted upon the duty of the seceders to refer to a general Convention of the people the question they had taken upon themselves to settle summarily. This collision, however, was scarcely to be avoided, taking into account the intense excitement of the Secessionists on the one hand, and, on the other, the resolute attitude of Major Anderson, commander of Fort Sumter, on behalf of the Federal authority. At length, the South Carolinians, having summoned Major Anderson to surrender, and the demand being peremptorily refused, they commenced a bombardment which lasted thirty hours, and which resulted in the surrender of the fort by Major Anderson, who withdrew with what are called the honours of war. No blood was shed on this occasion, but it served to bring the quarrel between the South and the North to a definite issue. President Lincoln at once issued a proclamation, calling out 75,000 militia to aid him in enforcing the Federal authority, and he has also summoned a Session Extraordinary of Congress, to meet on the 4th of July, for the purpose of considering what measures shall be adopted to meet the contingency which has arisen. On the other hand, the first result of this armed collision has been the secession of North Carolina and Virginia, and other States are expected to follow. The passage of the Northern militia through Maryland led to a serious riot in Baltimore, in which some lives were lost, and every thing now forebodes a most sanguinary and obstinate civil war, the end of which no human being can foretell.

Your Committee, taking into consideration the various circumstances which have characterized the present contest between the North and the South, cannot bring themselves to believe that it is nothing more than a struggle for political supremacy. It is true that the Republican, or Non-extensionist Party, represented by Mr. Lincoln, stands pledged not to interfere with Slavery, quite as strongly as the Secessionist Party, represented by Mr. Jefferson Davis, is committed to maintain it, and even to provide for its permanence. But it cannot be concealed that the question of Slavery underlies the whole controversy between the two parties, for the Secessionists have set forth, in their declaration of grievances, certain allegations to shew that the legislation of the Northern States, in relation to the Fugitive Slave Law, and in other respects, has had a tendency to render slave-property insecure. Moreover, there is evidence of the most conclusive kind to shew that for many years a small but powerful

party in the South, foreseeing the impossibility of avoiding a collision with the North, on the question of Slavery, has been preparing for it; and that the doctrine of States' rights, or the right of self-government, for which the seceded States allege they are contending, is merely a pretext to cover the broader issue. One point, Your Committee entertain considerable apprehension. They fear that whichever of these two parties achieve the mastery, the slaves will be sacrificed, unless circumstances shall put it out of the power of either to control the coloured population, and it should free itself by force of arms, or by a flight *en masse*. It is not an encouraging sign, that, up to the present time, the slaves have not been mentioned on either side as an element to be taken into account; but it is not to be expected that the struggle can continue without its becoming imperative to determine what is to be done with the 4,000,000 slaves in the seceded States. It were a waste of time to indulge in speculation on this head, which may at any moment be overthrown by some unexpected event; but Your Committee earnestly hope that the Divine Wisdom may overrule this awful contest, for the benefit of the oppressed, and, through it, bring them out of bondage.

It is known that Special Commissioners have been sent over to this country, by the Southern Confederacy, to obtain its formal recognition. Your Committee do not hesitate to say that any such recognition, in the actual position of affairs, would not only be premature, but would give a moral strength to the Southern Confederacy, which, in the interests of freedom and morality, it is most undesirable it should have. At the same time, they do not see how such a recognition is to be avoided, should the Southern Confederacy achieve its independence, and be recognised by the Federal Government. In such case, however, Your Committee think that the British Government should render its recognition of the Southern Confederacy, conditional upon its undertaking to enter into engagements for suppressing the African slave-trade, and for preventing the abuse of its flag for that purpose; and for all British subjects, of whatever colour, to be permitted to circulate freely in any of the States forming a part of the Confederacy. Your Committee would, nevertheless, prefer to see the British Government take the high ground of resolving not to recognise, under any circumstances, a Confederacy established for the express purpose of maintaining Slavery and the domestic slave-trade, for they feel very strongly that it might be construed into a toleration and a sanction of crime in one of its most aggravated forms.

CANADA.

A question of considerable importance arose in Canada, at the commencement of the present year, originating in a demand made by the State of Missouri, for the extradition, under the Ashburton Treaty, of a fugitive slave named John Anderson, who, in endeavouring to escape, killed a man named Digges, in a struggle occasioned by the attempt of the latter to arrest him. Anderson succeeded in reaching Canada, where he continued to reside for six years, at the end of which time he was arrested on a charge of murder, and committed to jail. On being brought before the Canadian Court of Queen's Bench, on a writ of *habeas corpus*, sufficient evidence was produced—according to the views taken by two Judges out of the three on the Bench—to cause a verdict to be given against Anderson. Considerable excitement resulted, and an appeal was made to English friends, whose interference very materially promoted the discharge of Anderson, who was released upon an informality in the indictment. As considerable uncertainty prevailed respecting the application of the extradition clause of the Ashburton Treaty to fugitive slaves, a new Bill was submitted to the Canadian Legislature, in which there is a clause placing fugitive slaves, claimed under the Treaty, under special protection, so that no similar case to Anderson's is likely to recur. In the course of the proceedings, good service was rendered to the cause of freedom by Mr. John Scoble, late the very able Secretary of Your Society, whose knowledge of the action Your Committee took when the Ashburton Treaty was under discussion in this country was of the greatest use. Your Committee consider it due to him to place on record their appreciation of his benevolent endeavours to save Anderson from a most dreadful fate, an adverse decision in whose case would have involved the personal safety of the refugee population in Canada.

FRANCE.

Your Committee deeply regret to have to record that the French Government still pursues, the system of obtaining negroes by purchase from the West Coast of Africa, to supply the colonies of France with labourers, mis-called free. It is now long since any attempt was made to disguise the true character of these transactions, which do not differ in principle, in any respect, from the slave-trade. But the French Government alleges, in answer to the objections and remonstrances which have been made to its continuance, that the ultimate destination of the Africans constitutes a difference which justifies the means adopted to obtain them in the first instance. It is difficult to conceive how a system, the evils of which have been fully

recognised in relation to its practice on the East Coast of Africa, should be less objectionable on the West Coast; or how the French Government can justify the prosecution on one coast, of a scheme which it has practically condemned and discontinued on the other.* Your Committee have no means of ascertaining accurately the particulars of this immigration; but some idea of the mortality it involves may be formed from certain despatches from Mr. Consul Lawless, of St. Pierre, Martinique, who gives the following results of two shipments. The *Dahomed* arrived in Martinique on the 25th of March 1859, from Loando, whence she had sailed on the 5th of February. She shipped 524 persons, and landed 440, a mortality of 16 per cent., besides several deaths before the immigrants were consigned to the care of the Commissary of Immigration. The *Stella*, from the same part of Africa, arrived at the island on the 23rd of September 1859, one month out. She shipped 642 persons, and landed 562; a mortality of nearly 13 per cent., that is, equivalent to the mortality by the *Dahomed*, at per rate of time. A shipment of Chinese, 331 in number, involved a mortality, during a voyage of 131 days, of 24. Two other vessels had reached the island in the course of the same year, with 846 immigrants from Africa; but there was no statement of the number shipped.

HOLLAND.

The long-promised measure of Emancipation in favour of the slaves in the Dutch West-India Colonies has been again deferred, in consequence of a change in the Ministry. The latest intelligence from the Hague is to the effect that a new Bill is shortly to be presented, upon the principle of compensation, providing for the enfranchisement of the slaves, who are to be subject to a ten years' apprenticeship on the plantations on which they are actually resident, "in order that they may become by degrees accustomed to voluntary labour." It is to be coupled with a scheme of immigration of Chinese Coolies.

Your Committee would rejoice to learn that Slavery in the Dutch Colonies has been terminated; but they consider that the beneficial results of emancipation were greatly retarded by the experiment of apprenticeship in the British West-India Colonies, and that experience is fatal to the anticipation of a more successful issue in any similar case.

HAYTI.

Your Committee have to report the transfer of the Dominican or Eastern section of the island of Hayti, or St. Domingo, to the Government of Spain. The Western part—

* *Vide Appendix.*

as is of course known—has frequently changed its form of government, and is separated politically from the Dominican or Spanish side. The progress of Hayti Proper, now under President Geffrard, has from time to time formed a subject of comment in Your Committee's Reports, and in their publications, and they have expressed regret that the entire island is not under one Government, for they believe that it would greatly conduce to the substantial welfare of the race which inhabits it were the authority undivided, and its institutions identical. They fear that the act of the Dominican President, Santana, in surrendering the State he governed into the hands of Spain—the former possessor of the island—has been one of deliberate treachery, and bodes no good to the Haytians.*

PORTUGAL.

In a former Annual Report, Your Committee stated that Portugal had issued a series of *portarias*, emancipating the slaves in her transmarine possessions. It appears, however, from a royal decree bearing date the 29th of April 1859, that those *portarias*, or proclamations, were only of limited application, inasmuch as the royal decree referred to, declares that the emancipation of the slaves in the Portuguese possessions, is to take place only in twenty years from the date thereof. In the province of Loando, on the West Coast of Africa, one of the most important of the Portuguese transmarine possessions, the number of slaves registered in it, under the registration-decree of the 14th of December 1854, was 61,711, in April 1859.

RUSSIA.

Your Committee have great pleasure in recording the issue of an Imperial Manifesto, dated from St. Petersburg, the 3rd of March last, declaring the emancipation of the serfs throughout the Russian empire. These number about 20,000,000. This step, on the part of the most absolute civilized Government in the world, stands out in striking contrast to the course of other Powers professing to favour free institutions, but which maintain Slavery in their midst.

SURINAM.

Your Committee regret to record that amongst the slaveholders in Surinam are many British subjects, who indeed own, amongst them, a very large proportion of the slave-property. In another part of Your Committee's Report, reference is made to a correspondence which has taken place upon this subject, between Your Committee and the Government, and it remains for Your

Committee to give all the publicity in their power to the names of the parties who have thus disgraced their nationality, and rendered themselves liable to prosecution, under the 6 and 7 Vict. cap. 98.

No. 96.*

Consul Munro to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 2.)

"Surinam, October 10, 1859.

"MY LORD,—I had the honour of receiving, on the 9th September, your Lordship's despatch dated the 16th of August last, with its inclosures, from the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, with regard to the purchasing of slaves by H. Wright, a British subject, as also regarding the other slaveholding British subjects.

"Mr. Hugh Wright came into this colony with his late uncle, Mr. Hugh M'Leod, about the year 1836, from Demerara, the latter having purchased at the time Plantation Burnside, a cotton estate, with upwards of 300 slaves, in the upper district of Nickerie, now called Coronie: the said plantation, about four years afterwards, was sold to the late Thomas Gray. Mr. M'Leod having about the same time bought plantation New Accanoribo, a coffee and plantation estate in the Commowynne river, with about 250 slaves attached. About the month of March 1843, Mr. Hugh M'Leod died, leaving Mr. Hugh Wright, with others of his family, heirs to his property. Afterwards, at different periods, Mr. Wright bought several other estates, with slaves attached. In 1854 he purchased the cotton estate Leydenshoop, with a gang of 140 slaves attached; but the negroes refusing to have him for a master, he got permission from the Court to dispose of them separately and in families. The estates of Mrs. Adam Cameron he purchased at execution sale, on the 25th of March of this year, with p.m. 392 slaves attached, as also the wood ground of Hanover, on the 9th September last, with about 230 slaves attached; which makes him owner of upwards of 1700 slaves. I believe he has gone on purchasing, under the idea that he, being a burgher of Surinam, is therefore not amenable to British law, as also on the plea that he is not purchasing slaves, but merely the properties on which they are attached; and no doubt would, in the event of a prosecution being entered against him, have recourse to naturalization as a Dutch subject.

"With regard to the parties who signed the petition to the States-General of Holland, first was Mr. Kirk, nephew of the late Dr. James Balfour, of Nickerie, who died in 1841, leaving two fine sugar estates, with a wood ground, having in all about 800 slaves, attached and private. Mr. Kirk, with other members of his family, inherited the whole of his property, the greatest part of which has fallen into the hands of Mr. Kirk by inheritance and transfer.

"Mr. G. Macdonald became purchaser of Plantation Moy in 1853, from the heirs of the late Alexander Ferrier, of Glasgow. Mr. G. Macdonald died about the 28th of June last.

"Mrs. Ferrier and family inherited, in 1848, from the late Alexander Ferrier, the half share

* *Vide* Appendix.

* Slave-trade Papers, Class B, 1860.

of Plantation Alkmaar and Frederiksdorp, having in all about 600 slaves attached; the other half proprietor is the minor, T. B. Parry, of Bath. These properties were in possession of Messrs. Ferrier and Parry, seniors, since 1827.

"Mrs. C. Gray, of Plantation Burnside and Potosi, inherited these estates, with about 500 slaves, in 1856, from her deceased husband. The former estate was purchased in 1840, the latter estate in 1854, with about 150 slaves attached.

"Mr. George Nicholson, of Plantation Hampton Court, Nickerie, has been owner of said property for upwards of forty years. I have been informed that the petitioners had no desire to retard the measure of emancipation, but will the contrary, only demanding a fair and just compensation for what they esteemed as their property. Of those parties mentioned in the address of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* to His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, many are dead; those living are Joshua Lyon: he has been owner of Plantation Susannasdaal since 1838. His son, Barnet Lyon, became proprietor of Plantation Iagtlust, with 220 negroes, in 1848, by purchase. James Tyndall purchased, in 1842, Plantation L'Esperance, with 96 slaves: his father, the late Joseph Tyndall, had been settled in Nickerie for upwards of forty years. He died in 1845, leaving his estate, the Nursery, with about 400 slaves, to Mrs. Tyndall and family.

"Joseph Robinson lately left this colony for Holland. He purchased, in 1846, the Coffee estate Hugten Tronue, with five slaves. In 1852 he bought, at execution, the Plantation Sara Maria, with about fifty slaves, and sold altogether last year to the proprietors of Plantation Dor-drecht.

"R. Wright possesses no slave-property in this colony. T. C. Ellis is proprietor of Plantation Gondmyn, some time previous to 1843.

"William Christie has been resident in the colony upwards of fifty years, and has been a holder of slave property for the greatest part of the time.

"George Fraser inherited his slaves from his father. Mrs. Taylor Hamilton inherited her property from her husband.

"George Cruden is a Creole, and a Netherlands subject.

"Thomas Green became proprietor of the half share of Plantation Boxel (sugar estate), and half Plantation Maryshope (cotton estate), in 1855, by purchase, both estates having in all about 300 slaves attached.

"John Mackintosh (Nickerie), has become part proprietor of an estate with a few slaves attached, through marriage, his wife having inherited them from her father, the late James Gordon, of Huntly.

"Sir John Young's connection with slaves in this colony has originated through his father, the late Sir William Young, who had been for many years connected with this colony while trading under the firm of McKillop and Young, and as Acting Curator for the Bank of England, holding mortgages upon many properties here, most of which have of late years been closed. It is much to be regretted that the parties then here, holding her Majesty's Commission as Slave Commis-

sioners, at the time of the publication of the Act of 1853, for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade, did not make the same publicly known to the British subjects in this colony, as then such a thing as ignorance of such a law existing could not be pleaded, and it is to be hoped that the measure of emancipation proposed by the Dutch Government will speedily be carried through, which will put an end to such unlawful transactions on the part of British subjects.

"I have, &c.

(Signed) "D. C. MUNRO."

No. 98.

Lord J. Russell to Consul Munro.

"Foreign Office, January 27, 1860.

"SIR,—I have received, and have referred for the consideration of the law officers of the Crown, your despatch of the 20th of October last, reporting the circumstances under which Hugh Wright and certain other British subjects are slave-holders in Surinam.

"I have to state to you in reply, that it appears to Her Majesty's Government to be clear, from the statements contained in your above-mentioned despatch, that Mr. Wright and other natural-born British subjects resident in Surinam, have been guilty of a violation of the statute 6 and 7 Vic., cap. 93, by buying slaves in that colony, and have by reason thereof rendered themselves liable to a criminal prosecution whenever they shall be found within British jurisdiction.

"With reference to the latter part of your despatch, I have to observe, that the fact of the statute of 1843 not having been published (if that were possible) by Her Majesty's Slave-trade subjects holding slaves having been ignorant of it, is immaterial in a legal point of view, although of course very material in considering the question, whether, in the event of the offender being within British jurisdiction, any prosecution should or should not be instituted.

"I have, therefore, to instruct you to make known to all British residents in Surinam the strict provisions of the law, and the determination of Her Majesty's Government to enforce it.

"I am, &c.

(Signed) "J. RUSSELL."

"No. 68.*

Consul Munro to Lord J. Russell.—(Received April 11.)

"Surinam, March 15, 1860.

"MY LORD—On the 26th of February I had the honour of receiving your Lordship's despatch dated January 27, relative to the referring for the consideration of the law officers of the Crown my report of the 20th October last, regarding the circumstances under which Hugh Wright and certain other British subjects are slaveholders in Surinam, and in compliance with your Lordship's instructions, I have had published in the public newspapers of the colony a notification to the British residents in Surinam, that it is the determination of Her Majesty's Government to enforce the strict provisions of the law 6 and 7 Vict., cap. 98.

* Slave-trade Papers, Class B, 1861.

"Since the publication of the above, an administrator for English property here wished to know if it were allowed by the law, for the purpose of manumitting slaves attached to an estate, to replace them by others, or to take others in exchange for that purpose, which in my estimation is forbidden as coming under the term of 'barter,' and such I gave the party to understand. I have, &c.

(Signed) "D. C. MUNRO.

"No. 69.

Lord J. Russell to Consul Munro.

"Foreign Office, April 30, 1860.

"SIR—I have received your despatch of the 15th ultimo, reporting that, in reply to a question put to you by the administrator of an English property in Surinam, you had stated that you considered it illegal, and as coming under the term 'barter,' to manumit slaves with the view to purchase others, or to take others in exchange for them; and I have to acquaint you, that having referred your despatch for the consideration of the law officers, I am justified by their opinion in stating that you are borne out in the view taken by you of this matter. I am, &c.

(Signed) "J. RUSSELL."

"No. 70.

Consul Munro to Lord J. Russell.—(Received May 14.)

"Surinam, April 10, 1860.

"MY LORD—On the 26th March I had the honour of receiving your Lordship's despatch dated the 23d of February, instructing me specially to warn Mr. Hugh Wright of the penalties which he has incurred by his further violation of British law, which I have communicated to him. I have, &c.

(Signed) "D. C. MUNRO."

"No. 71.

Consul Munro to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 13.)

"Surinam, June 8, 1860.

"MY LORD—I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Lordship's despatch dated the 30th April, with regard to the manumitting of slaves by the replacing of them with others being looked upon as barter, and therefore forbidden by law. I have, &c.

(Signed) "D. C. MUNRO."

"No. 72.

Lord Wodehouse to Consul Munro.

"Foreign Office, October 23, 1860.

"SIR—I am directed by Lord John Russell to inform you that his Lordship has consulted the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury and the law officers of the Crown upon your despatch of the 16th February last, in which you report that Mrs. Charlotte Gray, a British subject resident in London, and widow of Mr. Thomas Gray, has recently become the purchaser of an estate in Surinam, to which are attached eighty-five slaves.

"I am now to state to you that Lord John Russell is of opinion, that in order to fix Mrs.

Gray as the purchaser of the eighty-five slaves in question, it would be necessary to prove that Mr. H. J. Blanche, the actual purchaser, had the authority of Mrs. Gray to purchase, or direct or procure the purchase on her account, and that Mr. Fraser acted under such instructions in the orders he gave to Mr. Blanche. There seems to be no moral doubt of any of these facts; but in a criminal court they could not be established without the direct testimony of Mr. Fraser, at least, and the evidence of Mr. Blanche would, if not absolutely necessary, be desirable. These persons would, under any circumstances, be unwilling witnesses; and as they reside out of Her Majesty's dominions, there is no means of compelling their attendance to give evidence in this country.

"Under existing circumstances, therefore, Lord John Russell is of opinion that no present steps can be taken to enforce the law against Mrs. Gray in connection with the purchase of the eighty-five slaves. I am, &c.

(Signed) "WODEHOUSE."

Your Committee would observe, with regard to Sir John Young, that while they would not single him out as more culpable than other British slaveholders in Surinam, they consider it a most deplorable mistake that he should be selected as an object of Royal favours, to be promoted to hold offices of distinction under the British Government.

SPAIN.

This Power still maintains a disgraceful prominence in its isolated position as the sole promoter of the infamous slave-trade between Africa and Cuba.

WEST INDIES.

Your Committee continue to receive information which leaves no doubt on their minds of the great advances, moral, social, and religious, which the emancipated classes of the British West-India Colonies are making, and of the beneficial results of emancipation to all classes. What they have already published upon this subject has recently been most fully corroborated by the independent testimony of Messrs. Underhill and Brown, a deputation from the *London Baptist Missionary Society* to Jamaica, and some of the other islands. Your Committee would here observe, that they consider the time has arrived, when the emancipated classes must be exhorted to use the rights and privileges they have acquired, to obtain that fair share of power in the Colonial Legislatures, which will enable them to protect themselves against party legislation, without the necessity of appealing to those in this country who fought and won the battle for negro freedom; the foundation of all their rights as citizens.

HOME PROCEEDINGS.

The increased activity of the African slave-trade to Cuba has claimed a large share of

Your Committee's attention during the past year. To obtain earlier information on the subject, through official channels, has been their constant aim, and for the last five years they have made the most persistent efforts for that object, in which they have been greatly assisted by Lord Brougham in the House of Lords, and by Mr. Charles Buxton and Mr. W. E. Forster, in the House of Commons. Notwithstanding the extreme inconvenience of being obliged to act upon information nearly two years old,* Your Committee found in the Slave-trade Papers issued last year sufficient evidence of the awful extent to which the African slave-trade has been revived, to justify them in issuing a Circular, entitled, "The Slave-trade as it is," setting forth the facts in a succinct form. Ten thousand of this Circular were sent to the friends of the cause, for distribution throughout the country; to Members of both Houses of Parliament; to editors of the metropolitan and the provincial press; and to a considerable number of ministers of religion. Your Committee had the satisfaction of ascertaining, that public opinion had been aroused to the necessity of dealing with the evil, and they were encouraged to urge the Minister for Foreign Affairs to take a decisive course in relation to Spain. Your Committee conferred with Lord Brougham, Mr. Charles Buxton, and other tried opponents of the slave traffic, and a large and influential deputation waited upon Lord John Russell, and suggested a suspension of diplomatic relations with Spain unless she fulfilled her engagements. This step was closely followed up by Mr. Charles Buxton, who gave notice in the House of Commons of a motion to the same effect. This motion, however, he withdrew, in deference to the earnest request of Lord John Russell, who informed him that a strong despatch had been addressed to the Cabinets of Madrid and Washington, complaining of the persistent connivance in the traffic, of the authorities at Cuba; and of the abuse of the American flag to cover it. That despatch, with the reply to it of the American Minister at Washington, has since been published, and reprinted in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. The American Government rejected Lord John Russell's propositions, and somewhat tartly, but with great justice, objected that it was for the British Government to deal with Spain as a delinquent Power, for disregarding her slave-trade treaty obligations, rather than for it to require foreign Governments to incur an expense to maintain cruisers, which could not deal with the evil so long as the Spanish Government and the Cuban authorities continued to encourage the traffic in negroes. In a debate in the House of Commons, which took place on

the 26th of February last, upon certain resolutions proposed by Mr. Cave, Lord John Russell adverted to this despatch of the American Ministers', and quoted his own rejoinder, to the effect that no diplomatic remonstrances would prevent the British Secretary of State from declaring that it was a blot on the United States that they did not effectually suppress the slave-trade, nor from repeating, whenever occasion arose, the remonstrances against which the American President had protested.

Amongst other measures contemplated by Lord John Russell, was the convening of a Congress, some time in May or June of last year, of the representatives of France, Brazil, Spain, Portugal, the United States, and Great Britain, to consider what steps should be adopted to bring about the extinction of the slave-trade. Lord John Russell has recently informed the public, in reply to a question put to him by Mr. W. E. Forster, and suggested by Your Committee, that the proposed Congress was not held, in consequence of the refusal of the United States to be a party to it.

The continuation of the slave-trade from the East Coast of Africa, especially from the Portuguese settlement at Mozambique, has likewise occupied Your Committee's attention. In July last, a deputation from Your Committee waited by appointment upon Count Lavrado, the Portuguese Ambassador, who, whilst admitting that a certain amount of slave-trading is carried on from places on the East Coast of Africa, within the jurisdiction of Portugal, alleged that the Portuguese Government is doing its utmost to prevent it, but that the manner in which the British Government had abandoned it, in the unfortunate difficulty in which it had been involved with France, arising out of the *Charles et Georges* affair, had greatly disappointed and discouraged Portugal, and inspired her with serious doubts of the sincerity of the efforts Great Britain is disposed to make, to accomplish the annihilation of the slave-traffic. Your Committee admit the full force of this remonstrance, and can only renew the expression of regret this transaction elicited from them at the time, that owing to political complications, Portugal was sacrificed to allay the irritation manifested by another power. At the same time, it is the duty of Your Committee to dwell upon the fact of the continued prosecution of the slave-trade from the Portuguese possessions on the East Coast of Africa, and to urge upon the Government of Portugal, the adoption of measures for insuring the fulfilment of her treaty obligations. Your Committee believe, that so long as the Cuban market remains open, it is scarcely to be expected that slaves will not flow into it; but great impediments might be placed in

* Vide Appendix.

the way of their being obtained from the parts referred to, were the Portuguese officials there placed beyond the reach of temptation, and a system of local government adopted which would render them independent of the parties who possess the real power, and who are committed to the interests of the slave-dealers. Your Committee have this extremely delicate question under notice, and will take such steps as may, from time to time, appear to them calculated to lead to a solution. In connection with the subject of the slave-trade from the East Coast, Your Committee having had the opportunity of coming into communication with Mr. George Rae, one of the engineers attached to the Rev. Dr. Livingstone's expedition up the Zambesi, and on a temporary visit to this country, obtained from him a brief narrative of his experience while engaged in his duties, which they published in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, diffusing much useful information.

Your Committee have to record that the correspondence between themselves and Lord John Russell, on the subject of British slaveholders in Surinam, to which reference was made in the last Annual Report, has resulted in fully confirming the allegations of Your Committee. The last Slave-trade Papers contain that correspondence in full, with a series of despatches from the British Consul at Surinam, setting forth the names and residences of those British subjects who have purchased slave-property, and formal instructions from Lord John Russell to the British Consul to intimate to the parties that they have made themselves amenable to the law prohibiting the holding of slaves in foreign countries by British subjects, and that it can be enforced against them if they come to England.

On the subject of Coolie and Chinese Immigration, Your Committee's views remain unchanged. They have closely watched the course public opinion has taken, and the tendency of legislation, as well as the proceedings of the local legislatures in relation to it; but so far from finding reason to shake their conviction of the radical unsoundness and the enormous evils of the present system, it has been confirmed and strengthened. While admitting that the authorities in this country, in the West Indies, and in India and China, have exhibited more alacrity in endeavouring to remedy the evils and abuses Your Committee have—under no inconsiderable share of opprobrium—continued to point out, Your Committee considered it desirable formally to record their views, less from any desire of self-justification against the erroneous statements which have been promulgated relative to their opinions upon the subject of Coolie Immigration, than as a declaration it might become useful to circulate.

They have therefore inscribed the following declaration on their minutes:—

THAT the consistent opposition of the Committee to that system of introducing foreign labourers into the British West-India Colonies and the Mauritius, which has been designated by the term "immigration," has not arisen from any objection to see such labour attracted into them, but from the radical viciousness of the legislation framed to promote that object.

THAT the Committee are of opinion that no proportion of the cost of any system of immigration ought to be defrayed out of the general taxation, but should be sustained entirely by the parties who demand the services of the foreign labourers. Hitherto, immigration has not been conducted upon this principle. Even the most recent legislation renders the employer of foreign labour liable to the extent of only two-thirds of the cost of its introduction, leaving the remaining third, with numerous collateral expenses, a charge upon the Colonial funds.

THAT the Committee consider that the mode of providing for any proportion of the cost of immigration, by the imposition of a tax upon exports, is unfair to the small coloured freeholders, non-employers of immigrant labour, and is contrary to sound principles of political economy. The tax falls not upon sugar alone, but upon various other products, raised almost exclusively by the small freeholders.

THAT the Committee entertain a similar objection to the taxation of imports for the same purpose. It is levied upon commodities of which by far the largest proportion is consumed by the labouring classes, who are thus forced to contribute unduly to a revenue not employed for their benefit; and the Coolies themselves are also thereby mulcted in a proportion of the cost of their own introduction, which is manifestly unjust.

THAT the inequality of the sexes is a grossly immoral element in the present system of Indian Coolie immigration, the preponderance being still greatly on the side of the males; and that the domestic customs of the Chinese being adverse to the emigration of women, has presented an insuperable obstacle to a wholesome system of immigration from China into our colonies.

THAT apart from the objectionable means which have been resorted to, and which are even at present practised to induce Indians and Chinese to emigrate, the mortality out and home, and during acclimation and industrial residence in the Colonies, is a serious objection to the present system.

THAT the insufficiency of the means of affording religious instruction to the Coolies introduced into our Colonies, constitutes another evil of extreme magnitude, which it is of the utmost importance to obviate.

In another part of their Report, Your Committee have referred to the case of John Anderson, and to the circumstances under which they were requested to interfere, to prevent his being surrendered to his pursuers. Your Committee addressed a memorial to the Duke of Newcastle, and induced the friends of the anti-slavery cause throughout the country, to do the same, urging him to issue instructions to the Canadian authorities not to surrender Anderson without positive orders from the Home Government. Your Committee have the gratification of knowing, that their remonstrances produced a salutary effect, as a few days subsequent to the date of Your Committee's Memorial, the Duke of Newcastle issued instructions identical in purport with those which had been suggested. But Your Committee also considered it desirable to invoke the aid of the legal authorities here, and on the 14th of January applied to the Court of Queen's Bench for a writ of *habeas corpus*, to issue to the custodians of Anderson in Canada, requiring them to bring him to England. That writ was granted and duly served in course. In the interim, however, the Canadian Court of Common Pleas had granted another writ of *habeas corpus*, upon which Anderson was brought up before it, and after his case had again been thoroughly argued, he was discharged. Your Committee had hoped that this question would be discussed before an English Court, and the great principle established, by a formal judgment in his favour, that under no circumstances whatsoever can a slave, who has ever touched British soil, be surrendered. To obtain the unequivocal recognition of this principle, and to carry it into full effect, are duties imposed upon Your Committee by the 3rd clause of the IVth section of the Constitution under which they act. They rejoice that Anderson has been released, and have reason to believe that Your Committee's resolute and decided action, in this instance, materially influenced the decision of the Judges in Canada. Anderson now is in no danger, and the forty thousand refugee slaves, who—had the decision of the Canadian Court of Queen's Bench been confirmed, and the Ashburton Treaty been held to be applicable to Anderson's case—would have been liable to a similar fate, will have their liberties and lives assured by a solemn act of the Canadian Legislature, intended to remedy any defects in the existing statute, passed to give the Ashburton Treaty effect, and to prevent in future all similar demands under the extradition clause. Your Committee feel bound to record their satisfaction at this result of their efforts; for while it is not to be doubted that a solicitude for the safety of the slave refugees in Canada underlies the proposed

amended Act, a jealousy of the alleged concurrent jurisdiction of the English with the Canadian Courts has not been without its influence in suggesting this mode of avoiding a collision between the two Governments, upon a delicate constitutional question. Your Committee may be permitted to take this opportunity of declaring that they would deeply regret any such collision, but the prospect of one—now happily avoided—arose out of the circumstances of this memorable case, which were wholly beyond their control.

In order to cover the expenses incidental to the defence of Anderson, Your Committee issued a Circular Appeal, to which as liberal a response was made as might have been anticipated, considering that within a brief period of its issue, the intelligence arrived of his release. Your Committee would add, that the distribution of this Circular furnished them an excellent opportunity of diffusing information of the condition of the refugee slaves in Canada.

The dissemination of correct information on the results of Emancipation is another important branch of Your Committee's operations. From time to time the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* contains such facts bearing upon this interesting subject, as Your Committee are able to obtain through reliable channels. On the 20th of February last, at a Public Meeting held at Willis' Rooms, Mr. Underhill and the Rev. Wm. Brown, who had visited the West Indies in 1859—60, as a Deputation from the *London Baptist Missionary Society* delivered speeches remarkable for eloquence, and pregnant with facts, demonstrating the complete success of the Act of Emancipation. Your Committee have concluded to print and circulate these addresses in tract form, and anticipate from them the best results.

The crisis in American affairs seemed, in its earlier stages, to call for some expression of sympathy on the part of Your Committee, with the friends of freedom in the United States, who are now unhappily involved in war on account of Slavery. Your Committee therefore passed a resolution, to which due publicity was given, in conformity with their sentiments, coupled with the expression of an earnest hope that they would abstain from any appeal to arms.

On the 4th of March last, an Imperial Manifesto issued by the Emperor of Russia emancipated all the serfs throughout his dominions. Your Committee considered the occasion one of which they might take advantage, to adopt an Address to the Emperor of Russia, expressing their satisfaction at the promulgation of this decree, and their earnest hope that it would tend to the substantial advantage of his empire.

CONCLUSION.

IN the prosecution of the various matters which have claimed the attention of Your Committee during the past year, they have found no lack of earnest anti-slavery sentiment throughout the country. This is being continually stimulated by the action of provincial organizations, some immediately affiliated to the Society directed by Your Committee, others independent of it. Your Committee may be permitted to make special mention of the *Birmingham Ladies' Negro's Friend Society*, as one of the oldest of these useful and influential auxiliaries; to the *Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society*; to a similar one at *Dundee*; and to the *Leeds Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society*; to all of which, as well as to others, Your Committee are indebted for active and valuable co-operation.

Your Committee would also take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging the liberal response which has been made to a special appeal for funds they found it

necessary to issue at the commencement of the year. While Your Committee are painfully alive to the great loss the cause is continually sustaining by the removal, in the course of nature, of many of its most active and munificent supporters, they would express the earnest hope that the example of their life, and of their exertions and sacrifices in behalf of humanity, may stimulate others of the rising generation to follow in their footsteps. A careful review of the present extent of the slave-trade, and of the actual state of the anti-slavery question, as of others which are immediately connected with it, has satisfied Your Committee that much yet remains unaccomplished which your Society proposed to effect, when it was instituted; but with a firm and prayerful reliance upon the all-wise Dispenser of human events, Your Committee are satisfied to leave to Him to provide the instrumentalities through which, in His own good time, He shall bring the crimes of slavery and the slave-trade to an end, and to this extent advance His kingdom upon earth.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE, 1860.

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Audited, 5 mo. 16. 1861.

JOSEPH STERRY,
THOMAS BOX.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS, 1860.

Donations. Ann. Sub.				Donations. Ann. Sub.			
£	s.	d.	£ s. d.	£	s.	d.	£ s. d.
Anonymous	0	2	6	Brought forward	239	11	10 52 3 0
Aga Selim, <i>Lagos, Africa</i>	2	0	0	Collection per R. Hutchi-			
Alexander, G. W., <i>Reigate</i>	50	0	0	son, <i>Exeter</i>	0	10	10
Alexander, L. B., <i>Wood-</i>				Collection per Rev. Joseph			
bridge			0 10 0	Ketley, <i>Demerara</i>	2	12	6
Alexander, F., <i>ditto</i>			0 10 0	Clark, Alderman, <i>South-</i>			
Alexander, Miss S. A., <i>Reigate</i>			1 1 0	ampton			0 10 6
Alexander, Miss M. B., <i>ditto</i>			1 1 0	Cruikshank, E., <i>Edinburgh</i>			0 5 0
Alexander, J. B., <i>Ipswich</i>			1 0 0	Dent, William, <i>Marr</i>			1 1 0
Alsop, Robert, <i>London</i>			1 1 0	Darby, Hannah, <i>Colcbrook</i>			
Allen, Mrs. E., <i>Liskeard</i>			0 10 0	Dale			1 1 0
Allen, William, <i>London</i>			1 0 0	Darby, Lucy, <i>ditto</i>			1 1 0
Allen, Richard, <i>Dublin</i>			1 0 0	Darby, Rebecca, <i>ditto</i>			1 1 0
Atwell, A. G., <i>Kingsland</i>			2 2 0	Darby, Richard, <i>ditto</i>			1 1 0
A. H. W., <i>Barbados</i>	1	1	0	Dickinson, Henry, <i>ditto</i>	20	0	0 1 1 0
Bottomley, G., <i>Bradford</i>			0 10 0	Doyle, James, <i>Downham</i>			0 10 0
Boys, Jacob, <i>Brighton</i>			1 1 0	Dickinson, Rev. W. W.,			
Bowman, Henry, <i>Bakewell</i>			1 1 0	<i>Ipswich</i>			1 1 0
Banbury Ladies' Association	3	0	0	Danson, George, <i>Man-</i>			
Baker, George, <i>Birmingham</i>			1 0 0	chester			0 10 0
Baker, Jno. E., <i>ditto</i>			1 0 0	Dundee Ladies' Association	1	0	0
Barrett, Jeremiah, <i>ditto</i>			1 1 0	Dymond, John, <i>Exeter</i>			0 10 0
Bottomley, John, <i>ditto</i>			1 0 0	Dymond, S. E., <i>Exeter</i> ,			
Bell, James, <i>London</i>			1 1 0	Collection per			1 10 0
Brown, Henry, <i>Youghal</i>			0 2 6	<i>Edinburgh Ladies' New</i>			
Bell, S. S. & E., <i>Alton</i>			1 0 0	Association			1 0 0
Beaumont, John, <i>Ufford</i>			1 0 0	Evans, M. and E., <i>Bir-</i>			
Baker, J., <i>North Shields</i>			0 5 0	mingham			1 0 0
Beaumont, W., <i>Newcastle</i>			2 2 0	Elliott, John, <i>Liskeard</i>			0 10 0
<i>Birmingham Ladies' Ne-</i>				Elliott, Mary, <i>ditto</i>			0 5 0
<i>groves' Friend Society</i>	20	0	0	<i>Evesham Ladies' Associa-</i>			
Bowly, Samuel, <i>Gloucester</i>			0 10 6	tion	1	6	0
Braithwaite, Isaac, <i>London</i>			2 2 0	Epps, Dr., <i>London</i>			1 0 0
Burchett, J. R., <i>ditto</i> (2 yrs.)			4 4 0	<i>Falmouth Ladies' A.S. Soc.</i>			1 1 0
Bransby, N., <i>Alton</i>			0 10 0	Foster, Mrs. J. E., <i>Stam-</i>			
Ball, William, <i>Tottenham</i>			2 2 0	<i>ford Hill</i>			0 10 0
Buxton, Charles, M.P.,				Forster, Josiah, <i>Tottenham</i>			3 3 0
<i>London</i>	10	0	0	Forster, W. E., M.P.,			
Brown, Francis, <i>Brighton</i>			1 1 0	<i>Bradford</i>			1 0 0
Binns, Thomas, <i>Tottenham</i>			1 1 0	Finlay, James, <i>London</i>			0 10 0
Backhouse, Mrs. Kathe-				Fisher, Abraham, <i>Youghal</i>			0 5 0
rine, <i>Darlington</i>			1 0 0	Fletcher, Caleb, <i>York</i>			1 0 0
Bassett, J. D., <i>Leighton</i>				Fothergill, Mary, <i>Cowbridge</i>			2 0 0
<i>Buzzard</i>			1 1 0	Fox, Samuel, <i>Tottenham</i>			1 0 0
Binns, Henry, <i>Sunderland</i>			0 10 0	Fawcus, John, <i>N. Shields</i>			0 5 0
Backhouse, Edward, <i>Dar-</i>				Fawcus, Margaret, <i>ditto</i>			0 10 0
<i>lington</i>	10	0	0	Foster, Robert, <i>ditto</i>			0 5 0
Candler, John, <i>Chelmsford</i>			0 10 0	Forth, R., <i>ditto</i>			0 5 0
<i>Cirencester Auxiliary Society</i>	4	0	0	Fox, Thomas, <i>Bristol</i>			2 2 0
Cadbury, R. T., <i>Birmingham</i>			1 0 0	Forster, Robert, <i>Tottenham</i>			1 1 0
Cadbury, John, <i>ditto</i>			1 0 0	Foster, J. T., <i>ditto</i>	20	0	0
Cadbury, B. H., <i>ditto</i>			0 10 0	Gibbins, J., <i>Birmingham</i>			1 0 0
Cadbury, James, <i>Banbury</i>			1 0 0	Geade, E., <i>Liskeard</i>			0 5 0
Crouch, E. A., <i>Liskeard</i>			0 10 0	Glyde, Mrs., <i>Exeter</i>			1 0 0
Cash, Mrs. Sarah M.,				Graham, Mrs. H., <i>Leo-</i>			
<i>Peckham</i>			1 0 0	<i>minster</i>			1 1 0
Crabb, J. R., <i>Southampton</i>			0 5 0	Gurney, Samuel, M.P.,			
Cooper, Joseph, <i>Tottenham</i>			1 1 0	<i>London</i>	50	0	0
Charleton, Robert, <i>Bristol</i>	21	0	0	Gurney, H. E., <i>ditto</i>	50	0	0
Charleton, Mrs. Eliz., <i>ditto</i>			1 1 0	Gibson, W. G., <i>Saffron</i>			
Crowley, Abraham, <i>Alton</i>			1 0 0	<i>Walden</i>	20	0	0
Curtis, William, <i>ditto</i>			0 10 0	Gurney, J. H., <i>Norwich</i>	20	0	0
Cross, Mrs. M., <i>Colchester</i>			0 10 0	Gibson, F., <i>Saffron Wal-</i>			
Cropper, John and Edw.,				<i>den</i>	20	0	0
<i>Liverpool</i>	20	0	0	Gibson, Ann, <i>ditto</i>	5	0	0
Christy, Henry, <i>London</i>	50	0	0	Gibson, G. S., <i>ditto</i>	10	0	0
Collection in sundry small				Harris, Mrs. Sarah, <i>Brad-</i>			
sums, per Josiah For-				<i>ford</i>			0 10 0
ster, <i>Tottenham</i>	48	8	4				
Carried forward	£239	11	10 52 3 0	Carried forward	£460	1	2 85 13 6

Donations. Ann. Sub.						Donations. Ann. Sub.										
£ s. d.						£ s. d.										
Brought forward	460	1	2	85	13	6	Brought forward	717	19	2	127	0	6			
Harris, Henry, ditto				1	0	0	Richardson, W., Sunder-				1	1	0			
Harris, Alfred, ditto				1	0	0	land									
Hicks, Charles, Stanstead	0	12	0				Richardson, Hannah, N.									
Harvey, Thomas, Youghal				0	5	0	Shields				0	5	0			
Haytian Government	100	0	0				Richardson, Mary, ditto				0	10	0			
Holmes, William, Alton				0	10	0	Rowntree, William, Scar-									
Hunt, Henry, Bristol				1	0	0	borough				2	0	0			
Horsnail, Charles, Canter-							Rowntree, Sarah, York				1	1	0			
bury				0	10	0	Rees, Jonathan, Neath				1	0	0			
Hopkins, Mrs., Spalding				0	10	0	Stuart, Capt. G., Canada				1	1	0			
Heisch, Mrs., Kennington				0	12	0	Standfield, John, Bradford				0	5	0			
Helston Anti-Slavery So-							Standfield, Mary, ditto				0	5	0			
cietiy				1	0	6	Snowden, Mrs. Ann, ditto				0	10	0			
Hewetson, W. Leeds	25	0	0				Silver, S., Woodbridge				0	5	0			
Isaac, J. C., Liskeard				0	5	0	Sterry, Mrs. D., Hertford				1	1	0			
Jessup, James, Sudbury				0	10	0	Sterry, Henry, London				3	3	0			
Jowitt, Benj., Carleton				1	1	0	Sterry, Joseph, Peckham				1	1	0			
Jones, Mrs., Shrewsbury				1	1	0	Sterry, J. A., London	1	1	0						
Jones, Rev. T., Black-							Sturge, Joseph, Birming-				50	0	0			
heath	0	5	0				ham									
Jones, Rev. N., Charleford	1	0	0				Sturge, Edmund, ditto				1	1	0			
Janson, W., Tottenham				2	2	0	Sturge, Mrs. H. J., ditto				5	0	0			
Ketley, Rev. J., Demerara	0	10	6				Sturge, Charles, ditto				2	0	0			
King, Sam., Birmingham				1	0	0	Sturge, Samuel, Brixton	50	0	0						
Kenway, G. B., ditto				1	0	0	Southall, T., Birmingham				2	0	0			
King, H., Rochdale				3	0	0	Southall, William, ditto				1	0	0			
Kitton, Rev. J., Hutton	0	10	6				Seekings, J. R., ditto				1	0	0			
Laishley, George, London				1	0	0	Smithson, G., ditto				1	0	0			
Letchworth, Thomas, Exeter				0	10	0	Sharples, Joseph, Hitchin	30	0	0						
Lloyd, Samuel, Birmingham				1	0	0	Smith's Church, per Rev.									
Moor, Rev. R., Wood-							A.E. Wallbridge, Demerara	1	17	8						
bridge				0	10	0	Spence, Joseph, York				1	1	0			
Marshall, S., Kendal				0	10	0	Scarr, Mrs. H., ditto				0	5	0			
Marett, Charles, South-							Spence, J. F. & J., North									
ampton				0	10	0	Shields				0	10	0			
Morland, John, Croydon				2	2	0	Shewell, Joseph, Colchester				0	10	0			
Miles, Edward, London				1	11	6	Sympathizer, A true	0	5	0						
Norton, W., Woodbridge				0	10	0	Saffron Walden Ladies' As-									
Norton, E. M., Woodbridge				0	10	0	sociation	7	14	6						
Nutter, W., Birmingham				1	1	0	Southall, Mrs., Leominster				1	0	0			
Norris, W., Coalbrook							Shewell, J. T., Ipswich				2	0	0			
Dale				0	5	0	Shields, Wm., Lanchester				1	0	0			
Norris, W. G., ditto				0	5	0	Squire, J. H., Amwell				1	1	0			
Newman, W. H., South-							Smith, Edward, Sheffield	25	0	0						
ampton				0	5	0	Toll, Lucy, Woodbridge				0	5	0			
Norton, Thomas, Peckham				0	10	0	Thwaites, J., Rochdale				1	0	0			
Peile, George, Whitehaven				1	1	0	Thomas, George, Bristol	50	0	0						
Priestman, John, Bradford				1	0	0	Tatum, Mary Ann, Leeds				1	0	0			
Palk, Alderman, South-							Tatum, William, Rochester				1	1	0			
ampton				0	10	6	Thompson, S., Fording-									
Proctor, Joseph, North							bridge				1	1	0			
Shields				0	10	0	Tuckett, P. D., Bristol				1	0	0			
Proctor, J. R., ditto				0	10	0	Veale, Richard, St. Austle				0	10	0			
Pim, Jonathan, Dublin				1	0	0	Veale, J. E., St. Austle				0	10	0			
Pease, J. B., Darlington				1	0	0	Webster, Rev. G., Woodbridge				0	10	0			
Proud, Eliza, Lewes				0	10	0	Wainwright, Rev. E., ditto				0	7	6			
Pease, Thomas, Bristol				0	10	6	Williams, Dr., York				1	1	0			
Paull, Edward, Peckham				1	1	0	Wood, William, ditto	0	12	0						
Peel, Richard, Hazelwood	5	0	0	2	2	0	Wilkey, J. F., Exeter				1	0	0			
Peek, James, London				1	1	0	Warner, C. B., London				2	2	0			
Pease, John, Darlington	30	0	0	1	0	0	Wakefield, John, ditto	10	0	0						
Pease, Henry, M.P., ditto	20	0	0				Wheeler, F., Rochester				1	0	0			
Pease, Joseph, ditto	50	0	0				Young, Mary, North Shields				0	5	0			
Peckover, William, ditto	25	0	0				Young, Joseph, Chatham				1	0	0			
Riley, T. C. Wigan				2	0	0	Zachary, Daniel, Stour-									
Randall, E. M., South-							port				1	1	0			
ampton				0	5	0	Zachary, Thomas, ditto				1	1	0			
Carried forward	£717	19	2	127	0	6					£943	9	4	176	11	0

APPENDIX TO THE TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL REPORT.

SLAVE-TRADE PAPERS.—This Appendix has been rendered necessary by the publication—since the Report was presented to the meeting of Subscribers—of the Slave-trade Papers for the current year; the non-production of which, at an earlier period, has formed so prominent a subject of comment, for so many years, in Your Committee's Annual Reports. The series under notice has been obtained only after several years' persistent application, on the part of your Committee, through the Right Honourable Lord Brougham in the House of Lords, and of Mr. Charles Buxton in the House of Commons. In consequence of the representations made by them, of the obvious inconvenience arising from the non-publication of the Slave-trade Papers for any given year until the close of the Parliamentary Session, when they became practically useless, Lord John Russell (now Earl Russell) issued a Circular to the various Slave-trade Commissioners and Commissary Judges, dated 8th July 1860, informing them that in future they would be expected to make their annual reports on the Slave-trade on the 30th of September every year, instead of on the 31st of December, as heretofore. It is, therefore, up to this date that Your Committee are now enabled to submit to you what may be regarded as the latest official information on the Slave-trade; and although they remain of opinion that it might, with equal facility, have been brought down to the close of last year, they may be allowed to dwell with satisfaction upon the degree of success which has attended their application for the earlier production of this highly important series of Parliamentary Papers. In this Appendix, the same order will be observed in the arrangement of the matter as in the Report itself, which will tend greatly to the convenience of the reader.

AFRICA: WEST COAST.—Commodore Edmonstone informs the Secretary to the Admiralty, that since his last report the slave-trade had considerably increased, both in the **BIGHTS OF BENIN and BIAFRA**, and on the **SOUTH COAST**, chiefly between **LOANDO and AMBRIZETTE**. He confirms the fact of its being carried on almost entirely by vessels sailing under the American flag. He adds, however, that the American squadron had been very active; and within the two months of August and September 1860, had captured three slavers, having on board 1400 human beings. The barracoons at Cabenda were then still full of slaves. Her Majesty's Commissary Judge at **SIERRA LEONE** alleges that, from the 31st of December 1859 up to the end of May 1860, from 15,000 to 20,000 slaves had been conveyed

away from the **WEST COAST**, chiefly from the territory of the King of Dahomey. Commodore Edmonstone, however, states, that from reports he has received, forty-four vessels, capable of conveying away 31,399 slaves, had either arrived, to the 30th of June last year, or were on their way to the West-African Coast, of which nine had been captured by British cruisers. Thirty-one, out of the forty-four vessels enumerated, were sailing under the American flag, shewing to what an extent it covers the traffic.

EAST COAST.—Her Majesty's Commissioners at the Cape of Good Hope confirm the fact of the increase in the slave-trade, from **MOZAMBIQUE** and other of the Portuguese possessions, the destination of the slavers being Cuba. One vessel, with 800 slaves on board, had been captured by H. M. Ship *Lyra*, and another fully equipped to convey 1400 had also been taken and condemned. Between the middle of February and the 30th of June, 1860, two cargoes of negroes had been obtained between Ibo and ten miles north of **CAPE DELGADO**. There had also been an increase in the slave-traffic between the coast and the **COMORO ISLANDS**, and **ZANZIBAR**. It is the opinion of Captain Crawford, then commanding the *Sidon*, that the slave-trade was engrossing nearly, if not the entire attention of the Portuguese established in the different settlements of the Mozambique. Lieutenant-Colonel Rigby, British Consul at Zanzibar, states that during 1859, 19,000 slaves were imported, many of them young children, the major portion from the neighbourhood of the Great Lake of Nyassa, forty days' journey inland from Mozambique. During the year, the British Consul had redeemed 3563 slaves, from Slavery to British subjects, residing at Zanzibar.

LOANDA.—Mr. Commissioner Gabriel dwells in his report upon the cessation of the slave-trade from the Portuguese province of Angola, but is not sanguine of any practical good from the Decree of the King of Portugal of the 18th of February 1854, for the registration and partial emancipation of slaves in the transmarine possessions of the Crown. When this decree was issued, Your Committee commented upon its unsatisfactory character, and the probability of its being evaded. This has proved to be the case. Very few slaves who were entitled to their liberty have been emancipated, and the funds at the disposal of the Board of Protection have been appropriated to purposes altogether foreign to the humane intentions of the Portuguese Government. The public opinion of the Province is against the measure, and adverse to the

social elevation of the slave population. The cultivation of cotton was being much encouraged by the Government, and the development of this quite new branch of trade was rapidly increasing. In 1857, only 10,267 lbs. of the raw staple were exported; in 1858, the quantity had augmented to 20,960 lbs.; and in 1859, it reached 64,620 lbs., or an increase in three years of nearly 650 per cent. But this quantity was exclusive of large parcels shipped from other ports. From Loanda alone, during the season of 1859, one person had shipped a further quantity of 89,871 lbs., bought from free negroes, who carry it in the seed sometimes as far as 100 miles in the interior. This same person has expressed his readiness to ship 300,000 lbs. of cotton per annum.

AFRICAN IMMIGRATION.—Since Your Committee presented their Report, the Emperor of the French has issued a Decree, prohibiting the exportation of negroes, as free labourers, to the French colonies. This prohibition has resulted from a treaty entered into between the English and the French Governments for the obtaining of immigrants from the British East Indies. But while it is so far satisfactory to be assured that the new French slave-trade is to cease, Your Committee cannot but express their regret that it will be permitted for another year, when the new immigration treaty will come into operation. The evils of the system being admitted, its continuance for any period, however brief, is not justifiable on any grounds whatever. A shipment from the Congo to Martinique, consisting of 640 persons, had been accompanied by a mortality of 81 souls, or almost 8 per cent. From the East Coast, Mr. Consul Stanley reports that no French vessels had conveyed any slaves away during the year 1859.

BRAZIL.—Mr. W. D. Christie, British Minister at Rio de Janeiro, writes to Lord John Russell, on the 2d of June 1860, to the effect that “the slave-trade has so completely ceased in Brazil, that there are not only no cases, but even no suspicions.” His report embraces the reports of the British Consuls for the provinces of RIO GRANDE DE SUL, ST. CATHERINE’S, RIO DE JANEIRO, BAHIA, PERNAMBUCO (the latter including ALAGOAS), PARAIBA, RIO GRANDE DE NORTE, and CREA MARANHAM; and he adds PARA, stating that he has no doubt the information from the Consul there will be similar to that from other quarters. In his annual report for the year 1860, the Minister of Justice says:

“The slave-trade is extinct; and if a voice is raised here and there, advising the restoration of what is past, it finds no acceptance in public opinion, which has well judged and condemned the cause, according to the precepts of humanity, justice, and religion. The Government, how-

ever, continues to be vigilant, and will employ all the means which it can command, to prevent any attempt; and will inflict severe punishment on all who may venture on undertakings of slave-trade.”

It is known that the *Imperial Mining Association*, which has English Directors on its Board, proposed to sell the slaves in their possession to one Senor Santos. The party selling was one Mr. Illidge, who found himself restrained, by the Act of Parliament, from completing the contract. Santos brought an action against Illidge in the Court of Common Pleas, in July 1859, but the judgment was in favour of the defendant. This judgment was subsequently overruled by a majority of the Judges sitting in Error in the Exchequer Chamber. The English Directors thereupon attempted to carry out the original arrangement with Santos, but the British Minister at Rio interfered; and the whole of the despatches, fully setting forth the case, were submitted by Lord John Russell to the law officers of the Crown, who have given it as their opinion—

“1. That the English Directors of the Company will expose themselves to punishment, under the 9th Geo. iv. cap. 113, if they proceed to sell even the slaves that were in their possession at the time of the passing of the 6th and 7th Vic. cap. 98 (24th August 1843); and that if their position should be held open to doubt, yet, under the latter of these two statutes, the sale of the children born since the 24th of August 1843 will be an illegal act by a British subject, though effected in Brazil.

“2. That, notwithstanding the ruling of the Judges sitting in Error in the Exchequer Court, in the case of Santos *versus* Illidge, the 5th of Geo. iv. cap. 113, prohibits British subjects from dealing in slaves, in places out of the dominions of the British Crown, as well as in places within them.

“3. That the 6th and 7th Vic. cap. 98, prohibits the dealing in slave children born since the 24th of August 1843, and the so doing is within the 5th Geo. iv. cap. 113.”

Under these circumstances, the British Minister is instructed by Lord John Russell to warn the English Directors of the *Imperial Brazilian Mining Association* of the penal consequences which will be entailed upon them, should they carry out the contract into which they have entered with M. Santos.

This highly important despatch imparts great force to what has been styled “Lord Brougham’s Act.” The slaves affected by the contract in question are in number about 400; and it was Your Committee who, in 1857, directed the attention of the Earl of Clarendon to the anomalous position of the English Mining Companies in Brazil: and Mr. Christie now suggests that the Society “should make an effort to obtain the amount

necessary to procure the freedom of the slaves; and make arrangements for securing their services under contracts, for a term of years, to repay the purchase-money." Your Committee need scarcely observe, that if they should make any effort in the direction suggested, it would be only to secure the absolute and unconditional freedom of the slaves referred to. Another English Mining Company, called the *National Brazilian*, has a like number of slaves, who were in danger of being sold.

CUBA.—Mr. Crawford writes to Lord John Russell, from Havana, September 30th, 1860, as follows:

"I have the honour of laying before your Lordship a statement of the number of slaves landed in Cuba during the first nine months of the present year, amounting to 12,060, of whom 771 have been seized by the Spanish authorities. If to this number are added the usual third, 4020; the three cargoes which were captured by the United-States' cruisers, 1433; and the cargo of the schooner which was taken to Nassau, 364, we have a total of 17,877.

"This statement, however, only includes the cargoes of which we have any positive knowledge, and must not be considered as shewing any thing like the exact number of slaves which have been actually imported, for it is calculated that at least 30,000 have been landed since the 1st of January last."*

A later despatch from the same functionary to Lord John Russell, dated Havana, 5th of February 1861, sets forth a gross total of 28,899 slaves landed. Mr. Crawford's reservation in his former despatch, as to the accuracy of the numbers, will, of course, apply to the figures herein submitted. Accepting 30,000, however, as approximatively correct, and adding one-third to represent the mortality on the voyage and captures, we obtain a given total of 40,000 slaves, exported annually from Africa, to supply the Cuban market.

Mr. Crawford dwells upon the new devices of the slave-traders to evade detection, such as substituting closely-fitting iron water-tanks for casks; clearing out for known ports on the South Coast of Africa, provided with forged regular papers; and being in all other respects prepared for visits from cruisers. Your Committee, in common with all the friends of humanity, cannot but deeply deplore the continuance of this wicked traffic, after so many years' efforts to suppress it, and the failure of all attempts to induce the Government of Spain to fulfil its treaty obligations. As, however, this evil has now attained such magnitude that public attention is seriously directed to it, Your Committee hope some means may yet

be devised to bring it to an end. The annual production of Cuba now reaches 20,000,000*l.*; and it is estimated that at a moderate rate of mortality, say about eight per cent, it requires at least 32,000 labouring hands to make up the annual deficiency, and the requirements for extended cultivation; and that but for the importations of slaves, Slavery itself in Cuba would die out in a very few years.* Thus there is a great inducement for the continued prosecution of the traffic, and there does not appear any prospect of a diminution of the incentives to it. An attempt has been made to supplement the alleged deficiency of slave-labour, by the importation of Chinese, of whom 49,730 had been introduced up to the date of Mr. Crawford's despatch. Of these, about 34,000 were said to be surviving. The new Captain-General had encouraged a project for the supplying of the labour market with 15,000 "colonists," from New Caledonia and other islands of the Polynesian group. Should this project be carried out, the slave-trade in another form will be revived.

Mr. Crawford is greatly in favour of immigration; and says that if a sufficient number of women accompanied the Chinese immigrants, this class of labourers would soon supersede the negro; and that, "in course of time free labour would take the place of Slavery in the island, without any of the calamitous consequences which attended the emancipation of the slaves in our own colonies." Your Committee cannot refrain from expressing deep regret at the expression of an opinion, by Mr. Crawford, unfavourable to emancipation, the results of which may be referred to as having proved any thing but calamitous. Such statements as these are exceedingly mischievous, and tend to shew that, even in quarters where accurate information might be looked for, considerable ignorance exists, which requires correcting.

PORTUGAL.—In consequence of the continued prosecution of the slave-trade from the East Coast of Africa, strong remonstrances have been addressed to the Portuguese Government, which has issued fresh instructions to the Governor and the authorities of Mozambique, and at other Portuguese possessions on that coast, requiring them to increase their efforts to prevent the traffic.

TURKEY AND THE LEVANT.—Mr. Consul Herman informs Lord John Russell that the island of Malta had been made a point of

* We believe the slave population to be over one million at the present time, and that at least 80,000 fresh slaves are annually required to keep pace with the demand: hence the high prices they fetch.—Ed. A. S. R.

* *Vide* Slave-trade Papers, Class B, 1853, p. 69.

transit for the traffic in negroes, between Turkey and the North Coast of Africa. Previous to their embarkation at Tripoli, or elsewhere, the negroes were provided with letters of manumission by the Cadi; but the bearers were deprived of them before arriving at Constantinople, and were there sold at "enormous prices." It is probable that the British Consul will adopt active measures to check this abuse.

In the month of August, last year, the Governor-General of TRIPOLI had headed an expedition, and overtaken Ali Bey, the Governor of the Syrtis, who had made a razzia into the interior. Ali Bey and his camp had been captured, with several prisoners they had taken. These were liberated, but Ali Bey and his followers were to be punished. Their property had already been confiscated. The vigorous action of the Governor-General of Tripoli had been approved by the Government.

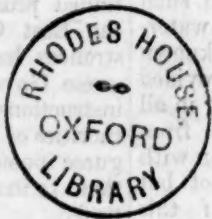
Sir Henry Bulwer, writing from CONSTANTINOPLE to Lord John Russell, under date of the 12th of December 1860, states that the trade in Circassians is still maintained; and that the position of this class of slaves is so peculiar, and their purchase so intimately blent with Oriental manners, that he considers it will be almost impossible to change the practice, however repugnant its continuance to our own notions. He observes that the trade in Black slaves is prohibited.

At JEDDAH, much excitement prevailed amongst the population, in consequence of the Governor-General of the Hedjaz having prohibited the exportation of slaves from the ports of NUBIA and ABYSSINIA, and also from JEDDAH or other Arabian ports. Mr. Consul Stanley is of opinion that a contra-

band traffic in negroes from all these places will nevertheless have to be connived at, in order to prevent a rising of the population against the Christians, which the Turkish authorities would be unable to prevent, being too weak to enforce the observance of its own edicts.

UNITED STATES.—The principal item of information contained in that portion of the Slave-trade Papers relating to the United States, is the reply of the American Government to the proposition of Lord John Russell, for the assembling of a Congress of the principal Powers, to consider what measures should be adopted for the suppression of the slave-trade. Whilst it professes to be ready to consider any proposition for this object which the British Government may submit, it declines to be a party to the proposed Conference, not seeing the practical advantage of such a Congress, as the Government of Great Britain does not consider itself justified in resorting to extreme measures to compel Spain to fulfil her slave-trade treaties.

Your Committee feel the full force of this objection; and seeing to what an extent the slave-trade is carried on, with the sanction of the Spanish authorities, and without any serious effort on the part of Spain to bring this disgraceful state of things to an end, consider that the British Government has laid itself fairly open to a charge of supineness in this matter. Your Committee entertain the firm conviction that diplomacy has resources at command which might be employed to accomplish the extinction of the Spanish slave-trade, without a recourse to hostile measures; and that any attempt to stop it, short of dealing with Spain herself, is unlikely to be attended with success.



1861. proposed Congress